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THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE MORAL ASPECT OF WAR.

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To determine the consequences of an historical episode, such as the recent Peace Conference at the Hague, is not a matter for prophecy, but for experience, which alone can decide what positive issues, for good or for ill, shall hereafter trace their source to this beginning. The most that the present can do is to take note of the point so far reached, and of apparent tendencies manifested; to seek for the latter a right direction; to guide, where it can, currents of general thought, the outcome of which will be beneficial or injurious, according as their course is governed by a just appreciation of fundamental truths.

The calling of the Conference of the Hague originated in an avowed desire to obtain relief from immediate economical burdens, by the adoption of some agreement to restrict the preparations for war, and the consequent expense, involved in national armaments; but before its meeting the hope of disarmament had fallen into the background, the vacant place being taken by the project of abating the remoter evils of recurrent warfare, by giving a further impulse, and a more clearly defined application, to the principle of arbitration, which thenceforth assumed pre-eminence

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in the councils of the Conference. This may be considered the point at which we have arrived. The assembled representatives of many nations, including all the greatest upon the earth, have decided that it is to arbitration men must look for relief, rather than to partial disarmament, or even to an arrest in the progress of preparations for war. Of the beneficence of the practice of arbitration, of the wisdom of substituting it, when possible, for the appeal to arms, with all the misery therefrom resulting, there can be no doubt; but it will be expected that in its application, and in its attempted development, the tendencies of the day, both good and bad, will make themselves felt. If, on the one hand, there is solid ground for rejoicing in the growing inclination to resort first to an impartial arbiter, if such can be found, when occasion for collision arises, there is, on the other hand, cause for serious reflection when this most humane impulse is seen to favor methods, which by compulsion shall vitally impair the moral freedom, and the consequent moral responsibility, which are the distinguishing glory of the rational man, and of the sovereign state.

One of the most unfortunate characteristics of our present age is the disposition to impose by legislative enactment—by external compulsion, that is,—restrictions of a moral character, which are either fundamentally unjust, or at least do not carry with them the moral sense of the community, as a whole. It is not religious faith alone that in the past has sought to propagate itself by force of law, which ultimately is force of physical coercion. If the religious liberty of the individual has been at last won, as we hope forever, it is sufficiently notorious that the propensity of majorities to control the freedom of minorities, in matters of disputed right and wrong, still exists, as certain and as tyrannical as ever was the will of Philip II. that there should be no heretic within his dominion. Many cannot so much as comprehend the thought of the English Bishop, that it was better to see England free than England sober.

In matters internal to a State, the bare existence of a law imposes an obligation upon the individual citizen, whatever his personal conviction of its rightfulness or its wisdom. Yet is such obligation not absolute? The primary duty, attested alike by the law and the gospel, is submission. The presumption is in favor of the law; and if there lie against it just cause for accusation, on the score either of justice or of expediency, the interests of the

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Commonwealth and the precepts of religion alike demand that opposition shall be conducted according to the methods, and within the limits, which the law of the land itself prescribes. But it may be—it has been, and yet again may be—that the law, however regular in its enactment, and therefore unquestionable on the score of formal authority, either outrages fundamental political right, or violates the moral dictates of the individual conscience. Of the former may be cited as an instance the Stamp Act, perfectly regular as regarded statutory validity, which kindled the flame of revolution in America. Of the second, the Fugitive Slave Law, within the memory of many yet living, is a conspicuous illustration. Under such conditions, the moral right of resistance is conceded—nay, is affirmed and emphasized—by the moral consciousness of the races from which the most part of the American people have their origin, and to which, almost wholly, we owe our political and religious traditions. Such resistance may be passive, accepting meekly the penalty for disobedience, as the martyr who for conscience' sake refused the political requirement of sacrificing to the image of the Cæsar; or it may be active and violent, as when our forefathers repelled taxation without representation, or when men and women, of a generation not yet wholly passed away, refused to violate their consciences by acquiescing in the return of a slave to his bondage, resorting to evasion or to violence, according to their conditions or temperaments, but in every case deriving the sanction for their unlawful action from the mandate of their personal conscience.

And let it be carefully kept in mind that it is not the absolute right or wrong of the particular act, as seen in the clearer light of a later day, that justified men, whether in the particular instances cited, or in other noteworthy incidents in the long series of steps by which the English-speaking races have ascended to their present political development. It is not the demonstrable rightfulness of a particular action, as seen in the dispassionate light of the arbiter, posterity, that has chiefly constituted the merit of the individual rebel against the law in which he beheld iniquity; the saving salt, which has preserved the healthfulness of the body politic, has been the fidelity to Conscience, to the faithful, if passionate, arbiter of the moment, whose glorious predominance in the individual or in the nation gives a better assurance of the highest life than does the clearest intellectual perception

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of the rightfulness, or of the expediency, of a particular course. One may now see, or think that he sees, as does the writer, with Lincoln, that if slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. It was not so clear half a century ago; and while no honor is too great for those early heroes, who for this sublime conviction withstood obloquy and persecution, legal and illegal, it should be never forgotten that the then slave States, in their resolute determination to maintain, by arms if need be, and against superior force, that which they believed to be their constitutional political right, made no small contribution to the record of fidelity to conscience and to duty, which is the highest title of a nation to honor. Be it by action or be it by submission, by action positive or by action negative, whatsoever is not of faith—of conviction—is sin.

The just and necessary exaltation of the law as the guarantee of true liberty, with the consequent accepted submission of the individual to it, and the recognized presumption in favor of such submission, have tended to blind us to the fact that the individual, in our highest consciousness, has never surrendered his moral freedom,—his independence of conscience. No human law overbears that supreme appeal, which carries the matter from the tribunal of man into the presence of God; nor can human law be pleaded at this bar as the excuse for a violation of conscience. It is a dangerous doctrine, doubtless, to preach that there may be a "higher law" than obedience to law; but truth is not to be rejected because dangerous, and the time is not long past when the phrase voiced a conviction, the forcible assertion of which brought slavery to an end forever.

The resort to arms by a nation, when right cannot otherwise be enforced, corresponds, or should correspond, precisely to the acts of the individual man which have been cited; for the old conception of an appeal to the Almighty, resembling in principle the mediæval ordeal, is at best but a partial view of the truth, seen from one side only. However the result may afterwards be interpreted as indicative of the justice of a cause,—an interpretation always questionable,—a State, when it goes to war, should do so not to test the rightfulness of its claims, but because, being convinced in its conscience of that rightfulness, no other means of overcoming evil remains.

Nations, like men, have a conscience. Like men, too, the light of conscience is in nations often clouded, or misguided, by

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passion or by interest. But what of that? Does a man discard his allegiance to conscience, because he knows that, itself in harmony with right, its message to him is perplexed and obscured by his own infirmities? Not so. Fidelity to conscience implies not only obedience to its dictates, but earnest heartsearching, the use of every means, to ascertain its true command; yet withal, whatever the mistrust of the message, the supremacy of the conscience is not impeached. When it is recognized that its final word is spoken, nothing remains but obedience. Even if mistaken, the moral wrong of acting against conviction works a deeper injury to the man, and to his kind, than can the merely material disasters that may follow upon obedience. Even the material evils of war are less than the moral evil of compliance with wrong.

"Yes, my friend," replied to me a foreign diplomatist to whom I was saying some such things, "but remember that only a few years ago the conscience of your people was pressing you into war with Great Britain in the Venezuelan question." "Admitting," I replied, "that the first national impulse, the first movement of the conscience, if you like, was mistaken,—which is at least open to argument,—it remains that there was no war; time for deliberation was taken, and more than that can be asked of no conscience, national or personal. But, further, had the final decision of conscience been that just cause for war existed, no evil that war brings could equal the moral declension which a nation inflicts upon itself, and upon mankind, by deliberate acquiescence in wrong, which it recognizes and which it might right." Nor is this conclusion vitiated by the fact that war is made at times upon mistaken conviction. It is not the accuracy of the decision, but the faithfulness to conviction, that constitutes the moral worth of an action, national or individual.

The general consciousness of this truth is witnessed by a common phrase, which excludes from suggested schemes of arbitration all questions which involve "national honor or vital interests." No one thing struck me more forcibly during the Conference at the Hague than the exception taken and expressed, although in a very few quarters, to the word "honor," in this connection. There is for this good reason; for the word, admirable in itself and if rightly understood, has lost materially in the clearness of its image and superscription, by much handling and by some misapplication. Honor does not forbid a nation to acknowledge that

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it is wrong, or to recede from a step which it has taken through wrong motives or mistaken reasons; yet it has at times been so thought, to the grievous injury of the conception of honor. It is not honor, necessarily, but sound policy, which prescribes that peace with a semi-civilized foe should not be made after a defeat; but, however justifiable the policy, the word honor is defaced by thus misapplying it.

The varying fortunes, the ups and downs of the idea of Arbitration at the Conference of the Hague, as far as my intelligence could follow them, produced in me two principal conclusions, which so far confirmed my previous points of view that I think I may now fairly claim for them that they have ripened into *opinions*, between which word, and the cruder, looser, views received passively as *impressions*, I have been ever careful to mark a distinction. In the first place, compulsory arbitration stands at present no chance of general acceptance. There is but one way as yet in which arbitration can be compulsory; for the dream of some advanced thinkers, of an International Army, charged with imposing the decrees of an International Tribunal upon a recalcitrant state, may be dismissed as being outside of practical international politics, until at least the nations are ready for the intermediate step of moral compulsion, imposed by a self-assumed obligation—by a promise. Compulsory arbitration as yet means only the moral compulsion of a pledge, taken beforehand, and more or less comprehensive, to submit to arbitration questions which rest still in the unknown future; the very terms of which therefore cannot be foreseen. Although there is a certain active current of agitation in favor of such stipulations, there is no general disposition of governments to accede, except under very narrow and precise limitations, and in questions of less than secondary importance.

Secondly, there appears to be, on the other hand, a much greater disposition than formerly to entertain favorably the idea of arbitration, as a means to be in all cases considered, and where possible to be adopted, in order to solve peaceably difficulties which threaten peace. In short, the consciences of the nations are awake to the wickedness of unnecessary war, and are disposed, as a general rule, to seek first, and where admissible, the counterpoise of an impartial judge, where such can be found, to correct the bias of national self-will; but there is an absolute indisposition,

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an instinctive revolt, against signing away, beforehand, the national conscience, by a promise that any other arbiter than itself shall be accepted in questions of the future, the import of which cannot yet be discerned. Of this feeling the vague and somewhat clumsy phrase, "national honor and vital interests," has in the past been the expression; for its very indeterminateness reserved to conscience in every case the decision,—"May another judge for me here, or must I be bound by my own sense of right?"

Under these circumstances, and having reached so momentous a stage in progress as is indicated by the very calling together of a world conference for the better assuring of peace, may it not be well for us to pause a moment and take full account of the idea, Arbitration, on the right hand and on the left? Noble and beneficent in its true outlines, it too may share, may even now be sharing, the liability of the loftiest conceptions to degenerate into catchwords, or into cant. "Liberty, what crimes have been wrought in thy name!" and does not religion share the same reproach, and conscience also? Yet, will we not away with any of the three?

The conviction of a nation is the conviction of the mass of the individuals thereof, and each individual has therefore a personal responsibility for the opinion he holds on a question of great national, or international, moment. Let us look, each of us,—and especially each of us who fears God,—into his own inner heart, and ask himself how far, in his personal life, he is prepared to accept arbitration. Is it not so that the reply must be, "In doubtful questions of moment, wherever I possibly can, knowing my necessary, inevitable proneness to one-sided views, I will seek an impartial adviser, that my bias may be corrected; but when that has been done, when I have sought what aid I can, if conscience still commands, it I must obey. From that duty, burdensome though it may be, no man can relieve me. Conscience, diligently consulted, is to the man the voice of God; between God and the man no other arbiter comes." And if this be so, a pledge beforehand is impossible. I cannot bind myself, for a future of which I as yet know nothing, to abide by the decision of any other judge than my own conscience. Much humor—less wit—has been expended upon the Emperor of Germany's supposed carefulness to reject arbitration because an infringement of his divine rights; a phrase which may well be no more than a blunt expression of the sense

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that no third party can relieve a man from the obligations of the position to which he is called by God, and that for the duties of that position the man can confidently expect divine guidance and help. Be that as it may, the divine right of conscience will, among Americans, receive rare challenge.

It has been urged, however, that a higher organization of the nations, the provision of a supreme tribunal issuing and enforcing judgments, settling thereby quarrels and disputed rights, would produce for the nations of the earth a condition analogous to that of the individual citizen of the State, who no longer defends his own cause, nor is bound in conscience to maintain his own sense of right, when the law decides against him. The conception is not novel, not even modern; something much like it was put forth centuries ago by the Papacy concerning its own functions. It contains two fallacies: First, the submission of the individual citizen is to force, to the constitution of which he personally contributes little, save his individual and general assent. To an unjust law he submits under protest, doubtless often silent; but he submits, not because he consents to the wrong, whether to himself personally or to others, but because he cannot help it. This will perhaps be denied, with the assertion that willing, intelligent submission to law, even when unjust, is yielded by most, for the general good. One has, however, only to consider the disposition of the average man to evade payment of taxes, to recognize how far force daily enters into the maintenance and execution of law. Nations, on the contrary, since no force exists, or without their volition can exist, to compel them to accept the institution of an authority superior to their own conscience, yield a willing acquiescence to wrong, when they so yield in obedience to an external authority imposed by themselves. The matter is not helped by the fact of a previous promise to accept such decisions. The wrong-doing of an individual, in consequence of an antecedent promise, does not relieve the conscience thus rashly fettered. The ancient rebuke still stands, "Why should thy mouth make thy flesh to sin?" For the individual or the nation, arbitration is not possible where the decision may violate conscience; it therefore can be accepted only when it is known that interest merely, not duty, will be affected by the judgment, and such knowledge cannot exist antecedent to the difficulty arising.

There is a further—a second—fallacy in the supposed analogy

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between the submission of individuals to law, and the advocated submission of States to a central tribunal. The law of the State, overwhelming as is its power relatively to that of the individual citizen, can neither bind nor loose in matters pertaining to the conscience. Still less can any tribunal, however solemnly constituted, liberate a State from its obligation to do right; still less, I say, because the State retains, what the individual has in great part lost, the power to maintain what it believes to be right. Many considerations may make it more right—I do not say *more expedient*—for a man or for a nation, to submit to, or to acquiesce in, wrong than to resist; but in such cases it is conscience still that decides where the balance of right turns distinctly to the side of wrong. It is, I presume, universally admitted, that occasions may arise where conscience not only justifies, but compels, resistance to law; whether it be the Christian citizen refusing to sacrifice, or the free citizen to subject himself to unconstitutional taxation, or to become the instrument of returning the slave to his master. So also for the Christian State. Existing wrong may have to be allowed, lest a greater wrong be done. Conscience only can decide; and for that very reason conscience must be kept free, that it may decide according to its sense of right, when the case is presented.

There is, therefore, the very serious consideration attendant upon what is loosely styled "compulsory" arbitration,—arbitration stipulated, that is, in advance of a question originating, or of its conditions being appreciated,—that a State may thereby do that which a citizen as toward the State does not do, namely, may voluntarily assume a moral obligation to do, or to allow, wrong. And it must be remembered, also, that many of the difficulties which arise among States involve considerations distinctly beyond and higher than law, as international law now exists; whereas the advocated Permanent Tribunal, to which the ultra-organizers look, to take cognizance of all cases, must perforce be governed by law as it exists. It is not, in fact, to be supposed that nations will submit themselves to a tribunal, the general principles of which have not been crystallized into a code of some sort.

A concrete instance, however, is always more comprehensible and instructive than a general discussion. Let us therefore take the incidents and conditions which preceded our recent war with Spain. The facts, as seen by us, may, I apprehend, be fairly

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stated as follows. In the island of Cuba, a powerful military force, —government it scarcely can be called,—foreign to the island, was holding a small portion of it in enforced subjection, and was endeavoring, unsuccessfully, to reduce the remainder. In pursuance of this attempt, measures were adopted that inflicted immense misery and death upon great numbers of the population. Such suffering is indeed attendant upon war; but it may be stated as a fundamental principle of civilized warfare that useless suffering is condemned, and it had become apparent to military eyes that Spain could not subdue the island, or restore orderly conditions. The suffering was terrible, and was unavailing.

Under such circumstances, does any moral obligation lie upon a powerful neighboring State? Or, more exactly, if there is borne in upon the moral consciousness of a mighty people, that such an afflicted community as that of Cuba at their doors is like Lazarus at the gate of the rich man, and that the duty of stopping the evil rests upon them, what is to be done with such a case of conscience? Could the decision of another, whether nation or court, excuse our nation from the ultimate responsibility of its own decision? But, granting that it might have proved expedient to call in other judges, when we had full knowledge of the circumstances, what would have been our dilemma if, conscience commanding one course, we had found ourselves antecedently bound to abide by the conclusions of another arbiter? For let us not deceive ourselves. Absolutely justifiable, nay imperative, as most of us believe our action to have been, when tried at the bar of conscience, no arbitral court, acceptable to the two nations, would have decided as our own conscience did. A European diplomatist of distinguished reputation, of a small nation likeliest to be unbiased, so said to me personally, and it is known that more than one of our own ablest international lawyers held that we were acting in defiance of international law, as it now exists; just as the men who resisted the Fugitive Slave Law acted in defiance of the statute law of the land. Decision must have gone against us, so these men think, on the legal merits of the case. Of the moral question the arbiter could take no account; it is not there, indeed, that moral questions must find their solution, but in the court of conscience. Referred to arbitration, doubtless the Spanish flag would still fly over Cuba.

There is unquestionably a higher Law than law, concerning obedience to which no other than the man himself, or the State,

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can give account to Him that shall judge. The freedom of the conscience may be fettered or signed away by him who owes to it allegiance, yet its supremacy, though thus disavowed, cannot be overthrown. The Conference at the Hague has facilitated future recourse to arbitration, by providing means through which, a case arising, a court is more easily constituted, and rules governing its procedure are ready to hand; but it has refrained from any engagements binding States to have recourse to the tribunal thus created. The responsibility of the State to its own conscience remains unimpeached, and independent. The progress thus made and thus limited is to a halting place, at which, whether well chosen or not, the nations must perforce stop for a time; and it will be wise to employ that time in considering the bearings, alike of that which has been done, and of that which has been left undone.

Our own country has a special need thus carefully to consider the possible consequences of arbitration, understood in the sense of an antecedent pledge to resort to it; unless under limitations very carefully hedged. There is an undoubted popular tendency in direction of such arbitration, which would be "compulsory" in the highest moral sense—the compulsion of a promise. The world at large, and we especially, stand at the opening of a new era, concerning whose problems little can be foreseen. Among the peoples, there is manifested intense interest in the maturing of our national convictions, as being, through Asia, new-comers into active international life, concerning whose course it is impossible to predict; and in many quarters, probably in all except Great Britain, the attitude towards us is watchful rather than sympathetic. The experience of Crete and of Armenia does not suggest beneficent results from the arbitration of many counsellors; especially if contrasted with the more favorable issue when Russia, in 1877, acting on her own single initiative, forced by the conscience of her people, herself alone struck the fetters from Bulgaria; or when we ourselves last year, rejecting intermediation, loosed the bonds from Cuba, and lifted the yoke from the neck of the oppressed.

I was meditating such things, as I found often occasion to do during the Conference, while approaching the old town of Kampen, on the eastern shore of the Zuyder Zee; and thus it was with the added force of a coincidence that I read there, in the mediæval

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Staduis, the sentence, "*Justitia gladio martis violentia cessit.*" I know not what incident, or what long train of events, may have prompted the words; but they certainly well befitted a city of the brave Dutchmen, who by the sword first wrenched civil and religious peace from the violences done to both by Spain, and who began that process of disintegration of her empire, and of deliverance of peoples from her oppression, which was completed last year by the sword of the United States. Yet, even now, how true the motto rings to any who, familiar with the broad features of our own racial history, will run over in his mind its leading events since the days of the Stuarts. What has not "justice, with valor armed," when confronted by evil in high places, found itself compelled to effect by resort to the sword? To it was due the birth of our own nation, not least among the benefits of which was the stern experience that has made Great Britain no longer the mistress, but the mother, of her dependencies. The control, to good from evil, of the devastating fire of the French Revolution and of Napoleon was due to the sword. The long line of illustrious names and deeds, of those who bore it not in vain, has in our times culminated—if indeed the end is even yet nearly reached—in the new birth of the United States by the extirpation of human slavery, and in the downfall, but yesterday, of a colonial empire identified with tyranny. What the sword, and it supremely, tempered only by the stern demands of justice and of conscience, and the loving voice of charity, has done for India and for Egypt, is a tale at once too long and too well known for repetition here. Peace, indeed, is not adequate to all progress; there are resistances that can be overcome only by explosion. What means less violent than war would in a half-year have solved the Caribbean problem, shattered national ideas deep rooted in the prepossessions of a century, and planted the United States in Asia, face to face with the great world problem of the immediate future? What but war rent the veil which prevented the English-speaking communities from seeing eye to eye, and revealed to each the face of a brother? Little wonder that a war which, with comparatively little bloodshed, brought such consequences, was followed by the call for a Peace Conference!

Power, force, is a faculty of national life; one of the talents committed to nations by God. Like every other endowment of a complex organization, it must be held under control of the en-

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lightened intellect and of the upright heart; but no more than any other can it be carelessly or lightly abjured, without incurring the responsibility of one who buries in the earth that which was instrusted to him for use. And this obligation to maintain right, by force if need be, while common to all States, rests peculiarly upon the greater, in proportion to their means. Much is required of those to whom much is given. So viewed, the ability speedily to put forth the nation's power, by adequate organization and other necessary preparation, according to the reasonable demands of the nation's intrinsic strength and of its position in the world, is one of the clear duties involved in the Christian word "watchfulness"—readiness for the call that may come, whether expectedly or not. Until it is demonstrable that no evil exists, or threatens the world, which cannot be obviated without recourse to force, the obligation to readiness must remain; and, where evil is mighty and defiant, the obligation to use force—that is, war—arises. Nor is it possible, antecedently, to bring these conditions and obligations under the letter of precise and codified law, to be administered by a tribunal; while legalism, in its spirit, is marked by blemishes as real as those commonly attributed to "militarism," and not more elevated. The considerations which determine good and evil, right and wrong, in crises of national life, or of the world's history, are questions of equity often too complicated for decision upon mere rules, or even principles, of law, international or other. The instances of Bulgaria, of Armenia, and of Cuba, are entirely in point, and it is most probable that the contentions about the future of China will afford further illustration. Even in matters where the interest of nations is concerned, the moral element enters; because each generation in its day is the guardian of those which shall follow it. Like all guardians, therefore, while it has the power to act according to its best judgment, it has no right, for the mere sake of peace, to permit known injustice to be done to its wards.

The present strong feeling, throughout the nations of the world, in favor of Arbitration, is in itself a subject for congratulation almost unalloyed. It carries indeed a promise, to the certainty of which no paper covenants can pretend; for it influences the conscience by inward conviction, not by external fetter. But it must be remembered that such sentiments, from their very universality and evident laudableness, need correctives, for they bear

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in themselves a great danger of excess or of precipitancy. Excess is seen in the disposition, far too prevalent, to look upon war not only as an evil, but as an evil unmixed, unnecessary, and therefore always unjustifiable; while precipitancy, to reach results considered desirable, is evidenced by the wish to *impose* arbitration, to prevent recourse to war, by a general pledge previously made. Both frames of mind receive expression in the words of speakers, among whom a leading characteristic is lack of measuredness and of proportion. Thus an eminent citizen is reported to have said, "There is no more occasion for two nations to go to war, than for two men to settle their difficulties with clubs." Singularly enough, this point of view assumes to represent peculiarly Christian teaching; willingly ignorant of the truth that Christianity, while it will not force the conscience, by other than spiritual weapons, as "compulsory" arbitration might, distinctly recognizes the sword as the resister and remedier of evil in the sphere "of this world."

Arbitration's great opportunity has come in the advancing moral standards of States, whereby the disposition to deliberate wrong-doing has diminished, and consequently the occasions for redressing wrong by force are less frequent to arise. In view of recent events, however, and very especially of notorious, high-handed, oppression, initiated since the calling of the Peace Conference, and resolutely continued during its sessions in defiance of the public opinion—the conviction—of the world at large, it is premature to assume that such occasions belong wholly to the past. Much less can it be assumed that there will be no further instances of a community believing, conscientiously and entirely, that honor and duty require of it a certain course, which another community with equal integrity may hold to be inconsistent with the rights and obligations of its own members. It is quite possible, especially to one who has recently visited Holland, to conceive that Great Britain and the Boers are alike satisfied of the substantial justice of their respective claims. It is permissible most earnestly to hope that, in disputes between independent States, arbitration may find a way to reconcile peace with fidelity to conscience, in the case of both; but if, when friendly suggestion has done its best, the conviction of conscience remains unshaken, war is better than disobedience—better than acquiescence in recognized wrong. The great danger of undiscriminating advocacy of Arbitration, which threatens even the cause it seeks to maintain,

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is that it may lead men to tamper with equity, to compromise with unrighteousness, soothing their conscience with the belief that war is so entirely wrong that beside it no other tolerated evil is wrong. Witness Armenia and witness Crete. War has been avoided; but what of the national consciences that beheld such iniquity, and withheld the hand?

A. T. MAHAN.

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IN THE CLUTCH OF THE HARPY POWERS.

BY R. M. JOHNSTON.

It is a striking fact that, whereas endless months have been fruitlessly consumed in attempts to negotiate an Arbitration Treaty with our loudly proclaimed friend Great Britain, a few short weeks have sufficed us to take unto our bosom all the Harpy Powers of Europe, by a Convention that necessitates the sacrifice, on the altar of international brotherhood, of the long cherished traditions of our foreign policy. That Convention must be unhesitatingly denounced as a piece of egregious folly; and it cannot be supposed for one moment that the Senate of the United States, whose ratification is fortunately necessary to make good the signatures of our Commissioners, will endorse their action.

The Peace Conference found, very soon after its assemblage at the Hague, that there were no subjects of very great public interest it could attempt with the one exception of Arbitration. The Disarmament proposal was obviously childish; and the Rules of War, the Geneva Convention and other allied matters could not be treated in any more striking way than by improvement of detail. So, on Arbitration the attention of the delegates became fixed. Evidently, all the very eminent and liberal men thus thrust on the attention of an ever expectant and, in parts, sadly oppressed world, were bound to accomplish something on those lines, or the hysteria of the Millennium-seekers would have forever attached to their hitherto respectable names the obloquy of unforgivable barbarism.

The proposals for arbitration, then, began to pour in. Russia, Italy, the United States, all handed in schemes more or less elaborate and complicated; ours, perhaps, the least so of the

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three, owing to the brilliant legal aptitude of Mr. Holls. Within a week, from believing universal international arbitration undebatable, the Conference found itself with a plethora of solutions. By this time, the delegates had fairly lost their heads and were beautifully stampeded. Mr. W. T. Stead was distractedly banging the big drum of Universal Peace, and all the liberal ladies of the world, assembled in their thousands at the Hague, were calling the delegates dears.

But the three schemes put in disclosed very considerable divergences of opinion, a fact which need really not astonish us; and confusion might have led to failure, had not Sir Julian Pauncefote opportunely joined in the fray and turned disruption into accord. His formula (they must have taught him that at Downing Street when he was a boy), was to boil down the three schemes and add an equal part of his own (and some terribly poisonous ingredients he put in, too, as I shall attempt to show). Finally, by means of frank, engaging, genial diplomacy, and zeal, and pertinacity, he persuaded all the delegates to swallow the Russo-Pauncefote panacea and universal cure. And this in not more than six weeks!

Now, our Government went into this business:

Firstly, out of courtesy to the Russian Government;

Secondly, being desirous of improving certain features of belligerency, and, perhaps, hoping to advance a step in the matter of neutral goods at sea;

Thirdly, attaching no importance to the disarmament proposal and but little to the arbitration question.

But the Hague stampede gave so little time for reflection, and Sir Julian Pauncefote stirred in his insidious ingredients with such rapidity, that it was only about a week before the close of the Conference that it seems to have occurred to someone at Washington, that a Treaty purporting to be concerned with arbitration only may contain clauses, subsidiary in appearance, which are, from certain points of view, of far more importance than the ostensibly principal clauses. The Treaty might purport to be concerned with nothing but arbitration, but it might, through its subsidiary clauses, be the loophole Europe has so long sought, for dealing a death blow to the Monroe Doctrine. So, Mr. White, acting on cabled instructions, got up and made a pleasant little explanatory speech, stating that, whatever might be signed, we

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did not intend to depart from our traditional policy, both as to American and as to European affairs.

Now, if that speech of Mr. White's is merely prefatory to the summary rejection of the Treaty by the Senate on the recommendation of the Administration, we may be thankful and spare criticism. But if it means that we think the Convention endangers the Monroe Doctrine, then that speech appears to me to be totally inadequate, not to use a stronger expression. If our historical policy is questioned,—and Europe never has recognized the Monroe Doctrine,—we must act like a business man entering into a contract. Either what we stipulate must be recognized as a clause of our contract and form an integral part of it, or we decline to sign. This rule should be applied to all cases; it can, however, be least omitted when the antecedents of the majority of the parties we are contracting with are such as they are in this case.

But an examination of the provisions of this Convention will show that it is utterly incompatible, in spirit as well as in letter, with the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. Let us see what is the effect of these provisions, so far as they concern our argument:

(1.) Recourse to arbitration is optional. Every provision referring to a stage anterior to the arbitration stage is not optional, but fixed.

(2.) A permanent Bureau is constituted at the Hague, dealing with archives, correspondence, etc.

(3.) A permanent Council is formed. The United States will (not *can* or *may*) be represented on this Council by the American Minister to Holland, who will act *ex officio*.

(4.) Should any signatory Powers be involved in dispute, they agree to call in the mediation of other Powers.

(5.) Neutral signatories bind themselves to intervene for the purpose of conciliation.

(6.) By the important Clause 9, it is agreed to be desirable that, in cases of dispute where diplomatic means have failed, an International Commission of Inquiry shall be constituted to clear up the facts.

There can be but one measure of excellence in estimating the value of a Treaty, and that is the amount of tangible benefit it confers.

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What can its negotiators claim as the utmost value of the Arbitration Convention to the United States?

That it gives us the option, at any time when we may happen to be involved in an international dispute, and when our antagonist agrees to that course, to refer the dispute for decision to an already constituted Tribunal.

The next question is, What is the price we are asked to pay for this advantage?

Nothing less than the abandonment of our traditional foreign policy! For, by the Convention, we enter the brotherhood of the European Powers, and join in solidarity (to use a much abused word) with such enlightened political entities as Turkey, Spain, Austria, Greece, Persia!

We thus provide the long desired means for European intervention in American affairs.

That this may not appear empty argumentation, let us apply the provisions of the Arbitration Convention to our two most recent cases of European complications,—the Venezuelan and the Spanish troubles,—and see how things work out.

Venezuela, a small State, may be expected to join the Convention, which, as M. de Martens pointed out, tends to rectify the inequality between small States and great ones. Therefore, on a dispute arising between England and Venezuela, we, having signed the Arbitration Convention, are bound to offer our mediation; but—Russia, France, Turkey and the others are all equally bound with ourselves, and we have by Treaty agreed (I omit Mr. White's doubtless eloquent speech) that that right of intervention shall be an equal, an international one. And how about the Monroe Doctrine?

But this is not all. There is the International Commission of Inquiry. According to a clause of the Convention, about which there is no option as far as we as neutrals are concerned, an International Commission may be appointed, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the composition of this Commission would be principally European!

Take the Spanish case. The Kaiser of Germany, the Kaiser of Austria, the French Government, were trying their utmost to find some means of intervening to support the Spanish cause. Finding no means, brute force would have sufficed had there been no opposition; but, thanks to Great Britain, we were spared that

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affront. Here, by the Treaty of the Hague, the means of intervention, the thin end of the wedge, are provided. With that Treaty in force at the time, it would have been the philanthropic duty of the Harpy Powers to intervene, to propose Commissions, etc., etc., and we would have been pledged, by that much lauded Treaty, to approve those steps. The matter might still be pending; we might have run the risk of a dangerous European war; trade might be still unsettled, and Cuba still groaning under Spanish misrule!

I am no great admirer of Lord Salisbury's political opportunism; but I do very much sympathize with his dislike for what he has well defined as an optimistic policy. Now, if we are to believe the ladies and Mr. W. T. Stead, we must accept this Convention from the point of view of an optimistic policy. We are told, in very loud tones, I must not say shrieks, that we must not be such savages, such slaughterers of the innocents, as to believe that the Kaisers, that humane, liberal, educated Russia, that the milk-and-water-imbibing Sultan, would ever turn such a Millennium-heralding Treaty to an ignoble use! What buncombe is this? Why should we be treated as though we were bereft of our senses? Does not the record of despotism, of wrong and of blood stare us in the face? It will be time to say such things to us, when the Czar gives his subjects some of the rights of freedom, when the tide of the Hellespont carries a few less dead bodies, when the Italian prisons disgorge the multitude of liberal editors and professional men with whom they are now choked.

Let us, barbarians though we may be called, appeal to humanity ourselves. In the name of humanity, let us keep that power for good which we have. Let us hold ourselves free, that, when another case for chastisement like that of Spain arises, a case clear out of the bounds of arbitration and to be resolved only by might applied for the purposes of Providence, we may not be hampered and assailed by the Harpies of the Continent.

Is it for the good of humanity that we should sign this Convention? No.

When James Monroe propounded his famous Doctrine, we cannot doubt that he was actuated, not only by considerations of safety for the American State, but by the thought that eventually, under the protection of our institutions and our enlightenment, a new and better civilization would find its home on the

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American Continent. If we would be optimistic, we must put our faith in the liberalism of Europe; but the sad fact is, that liberalism has made practically no progress in Europe since 1848, and but little since the days of Monroe.

Were our Treaty with England alone, or were it merely for arbitration and free from all clauses making us the brothers and equals of the Sultan, or of Nicaragua, or San Domingo, all well and good. But there is such a thing as a useful concentration of authority, and a healthy use of the same for the help of mankind; and that has been an underlying principle of our policy since the earliest days of the growth of our power. There is, also, such a thing as levelling down; and we need not be accused of anything approaching spread-eagleism, if we think that the United States have not very much to gain by becoming equals and brothers of the larger proportion of the States that will be signatories to this Convention.

No. England excepted, we do not care for the association, and we can, certainly, do more good by keeping out of it; nor need the humanitarians fear that it is with hatred and murder in our hearts that we hold aloof. The Harpy Powers are far more likely to let the first blood than we are, probably among themselves.

We do not think unkindly of Mr. White and his colleagues in this unfortunate business, but we are thankful we were not placed in their position. The burst of enthusiasm provoked by the Arbitration Convention was natural among the ground down peoples of Continental Europe. Young Turks, old Armenians, emancipated and enthusiastic women, ancient revolutionists of the forties, buzzed about the Hague like bees. All the aspirations of freedom were focussed there, and what is more contagious, what is more admirable, especially to a free people, than the sentiment engendered by pure and unselfish political aspirations? That our delegates were carried away by the wave of feeling was not unnatural. Let but the Senate decline to ratify the Convention, and we shall forget all else but the humane and elevated sentiments that inspired their action.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

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THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE HERMITAGE.—I.

BY CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

It is to Catherine II. that Russia owes the foundation of the picture-gallery, and, indeed, of the whole museum of the Hermitage; and, as regards the picture-gallery, not the foundation only, but the greater number of the magnificent possessions which are its boast. It is thus a collection much less recent than the National Gallery of England or the Berlin Gallery, which, since their foundation in the early years of the present century, have, side by side, sprung by leaps and bounds into the very first rank.

It must be borne in mind that the vast pictorial treasures of the Imperial House of Russia housed in the sumptuous neo-classic edifice which, adjacent to and connected with the Winter Palace, still bears the name of the Hermitage, are in the strictest sense the property of the Russian Crown, although they are exhibited to the public under the ordinary conditions of a national museum. They are thus on the footing of the collections at Windsor Castle and Hampton Court, which are, both of them, what may be styled heirlooms of the British Crown, though access to the latter is had almost as freely as to any of the national galleries. The great collections of the Imperial House of Austria, once housed in the Belvedere, but now in the all too gorgeous new museum near the new Hofburg of Vienna, are on the same footing as the galleries of the Hermitage; and the Crown of Saxony in like manner owns absolutely the more valuable section, if not actually the whole, of the famous Dresden Gallery. The right of possession is, however, in the last two cases, a merely nominal one, which the august owners would never dream of exercising. The famous gallery of the Prado at Madrid comes partly within the one cate-

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gory, partly within the other, being made up of the *Real Museo de Pintura del Prado* (Royal Museum of the Prado) and the *Museo Nacional de la Trinidad* (National Museum of the Trinity). The Hermitage is, however, in a much closer sense an Imperial possession. Its magnificent halls have been used on rare occasions by the Czar for court functions, and its pictures are in the narrowest and most literal sense his own. It may happen that this or the other among the more portable canvases and panels of the collection disappears for the time being from the public section of the museum and finds its way either into the corridors of the Old Hermitage or, it may be, into the private apartments of the Czarina. The place of the missing work will then be temporarily taken by another picture not usually exhibited to the public. The Czar still reserves to himself, and not infrequently exercises, the power of lending his treasures to foreign exhibitions of importance, though his commands are, it must be owned, obeyed with considerable reluctance by the officials having charge of the Imperial treasures. Thus the Nassau exhibition, which took place last autumn at Amsterdam, was enriched with the exquisite "William II. of Nassau," by Van Dyck, from the St. Petersburg gallery, the "Venus and Cupid," of 1509, which is one of the first signed works of Lucas Cranach, the Elder, has gone to the Cranach exhibition at Dresden; and the Imperial owner has graciously consented to lend, from his peculiarly rich store, one or more examples of Van Dyck's art to the great display which constitutes, this autumn at Antwerp, one of the chief features of the celebration in honor of the tercentenary of the Flemish master's birth.

The private apartments of the Hermitage, and other various Imperial palaces in and about St. Petersburg—to say nothing in this connection of the palaces, not always well cared for, of the nobility—are still a veritable store-house of pictorial treasure, and one which as yet has been but imperfectly explored. The learned and enthusiastic director of that section of the Hermitage which comprises the pictures, drawings and engravings, Monsieur A. de Somof, has since he brought out, in a period extending from 1891 to 1897, in three sections, his admirable catalogue of the Italian and Spanish, the Netherlandish and German, the French and English pictures, made many a new discovery and re-identification. Thus, there have been brought into the galleries, since 1891, among many other things, an important work

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of unusual dimensions by Garofalo, a "St. Sebastian" admirably illustrating the very latest period of Titian, and one of those curious kitchen-pieces which mark the beginnings of Velazquez. M. de Somof,* during a quite recent visit of the writer to St. Petersburg, disinterred at one of the Imperial palaces in the neighborhood of the capital a lost Rembrandt of the late time, "Christ and the Woman of Samaria," and found, in the depot of the Hermitage itself, a painting, "St. Paul on the Island of Malta," which, as regards its dimensions and its state of preservation, must count as the most important extant work of Adam Elsheimer. The writer himself, in the course of this same visit, during which he received invaluable assistance and every possible facility from M. de Somof, was enabled to make several new identifications, and to recognize, in one of the private corridors, masquerading under the name of Pater, an early Watteau of exquisite quality, "*Le Camp Volant*," to which reference will be made hereafter. The Hermitage owes most, next to Catherine II., to Nicholas I., who not only enriched the collections by many magnificent additions in various directions, but determined to provide an adequate building, planned specially to contain and display them. L. von Klenze, an architect then of great repute at Munich, was called in, and in 1849 completed, in a somewhat frigid, neo-classic style, harmonizing not too happily with the florid, exotic rococo, with the profuseness in moulding and adornment, of the Winter Palace itself, an important structure, the chief exterior feature of which is the central portico supported by a double row of gigantic nude Atlantes, their robust forms realized in polished grey granite. To this new palace of art were transferred, from the Old Hermitage and the Imperial palaces, the collections of pictures and works of art formed by Catherine II. and her successors. A committee, specially appointed for the occasion, made choice, in all the vast mass of paintings thus brought together, of those works which they esteemed worthy to be included in the revised and concentrated collection. Those which remained over were, some of them, divided among the Imperial palaces, while others were placed in the depot of the Hermitage, a certain number being actually sold by public auction in 1853.†

* See *Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Correspondance de Russie*, Mars, 1899.

† The surmise seems a legitimate one that the connoisseurship of the personages composing this commission cannot have been of the surest. Many inferior things and a certain number of avowed copies were retained with the marvels which give

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The solemn inauguration of the Imperial museum took place on the 5th of February, 1853. From that date onwards, both the collections of pictures and the group of antiquities and works of art of the Hermitage have been uninterruptedly enriched by the important acquisitions made during the last years of the reign of Nicholas I., during that of his successor, Alexander II. and during that of Alexander III. More than eighteen hundred pictures are now exhibited in the public galleries and cabinets of the Hermitage. But there are many other rooms, to which the public is not at present admitted, containing pictures, very many of them of the French schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among which are to be singled out a certain number by no means inferior to the publicly exhibited works. M. de Somof has appropriated, and will very shortly throw open to the public, an additional saloon, cut away from the private apartments, in which will be brought forward many French pictures once of great repute, but of late years rather forgotten, on the principle "out of sight, out of mind."

With the ground floor of the Hermitage we have on the present occasion no concern, though it contains, with a very mediocre collection of Greek, Græco-Roman, and Roman marbles, by far the most extensive and the finest collection of pure Greek and Græco-Scythian gold ornaments and vessels to be found in the world; the most astonishing and the best known piece coming within the latter category being the famous Nikopol vase, with *repoussé* figures, in high relief, of Scythians breaking in horses. On this ground floor are also to be found, besides a collection of Greek vases containing many examples, in the strictest sense, of the much-abused word, unique, the superb Basilewski collection of mediæval and Renaissance antiquities, a library, and a collection of prints and drawings.

In mounting the great marble staircase which leads to the first floor, and passing on in a natural eagerness to get as quickly as possible to the collection of pictures, let the visitor beware of making the mistake by which the writer narrowly missed seeing some of the masterpieces of French sculpture of the eighteenth century,

fame to the collection, while now and again one hears of fine works in the hands of private owners, which were originally among the Imperial possessions. Dr. A. Bredius, the learned and genial director of the Hague Gallery, told the writer that in a private collection near Kiev, in South Russia, he had seen a magnificent Titian of the mythological order, in perfect preservation, which had just such a *provenance* as this.

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or, at any rate, original repetitions of them. These works are arranged in a great loggia or vestibule, which, extending through the whole length of the building, precedes and runs parallel with the picture galleries. The natural impression made on those who, hasty and preoccupied, traverse this vestibule too rapidly is that here is one among many vast and sumptuous halls, such as are to be found throughout the Continent, with their obligatory adornments of decorative sculpture. But no. New proof is here afforded of Catherine the Second's large and catholic taste, of her close connection with the contemporary *littérateurs* and artists of France. Houdon, the greatest portrait-sculptor of the eighteenth century —a master as to the quality of whose consummate art the fellow-countrymen of Washington and Franklin should need no reminder—is particularly well represented in this gallery of works brought together from many public buildings of the Russian capital. Here is a "D'Alembert" done by him in 1782, and here, too, an original repetition of the incomparable "Voltaire," now in the public foyer of the Théâtre Français. This example, which is, if anything, less alive, less intense in characterization, than the more familiar one in Paris, bears the inscription, carved in the pedestal, "*Ordonné par S. M. I., Impératrice de toutes les Russies, Fait par Houdon, 1781.*" The Paris statue is dated 1778; that is in the last years of Voltaire's life, that of the overwhelming apotheosis before death at the Comédie Française. Here, too, is a marble original of the celebrated bronze "Diane" of the Louvre, identical, save for the addition of a supporting sheaf of reeds—an expedient rendered necessary in the marble version, in order to provide support for the gliding figure in its audaciously momentary action. It is not a little diverting to recall that, in a century which we certainly do not connect with any excess of decency in such matters, this completely nude "Diane" was originally refused at the Salon on the ground of its portrait-like character, but also because it was contrary to immemorial usage, in the presentment of the divine huntress, to show her as undraped as Venus and her attendant Graces. To be noted are further, "*L'Amour,*" by Falconet, and a bronze portrait of Marie-Antoinette, dated 1780, from the Lobanoff-Bostowski collection.

But the pictures recall us to our chief duty, and no further digression is possible, if even the faintest idea of the vast and comprehensive collection is to be given within our narrow limits.

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The strongest point of the Hermitage is not the group of Italian pictures of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; that is, if we measure it with the Flemish and Dutch schools so incomparably represented in the adjacent galleries. It will not, in this respect, bear comparison with the splendors of the Uffizi and the Pitti, the Louvre, the Prado of Madrid, the National Gallery, the Dresden and Berlin galleries. Yet, it is full of interest, and especially of puzzles, fascinating, not only to the specialist, but to all lovers of Italian art at its zenith. The puzzles are, moreover,worthy of all the pains that can be bestowed upon their solution, because they involve some of the main points which must be more definitely fixed before we can be sure that we know in every aspect the great protagonists who brought Italian painting to the apex of perfect achievement, where it remained for so short a space, before the descent began.

Works of the fourteenth century are practically non-existent at the Hermitage, and those of the fifteenth, even at its glorious termination, are few and far between. It is unnecessary to discuss here a much-injured diptych—or, perhaps, more correctly, two wings of a triptych—"Constantine Embracing Christianity," which are, on too slender grounds, ascribed to Andrea del Castagno.

The finest Quattrocento picture of the collection, and, indeed, one of the jewels of the Hermitage, is the "Adoration of the Magi," by Botticelli. It is a work of the middle time of the artist, and among the successive representations of the same subject to be found in his life-work—from its start to its finish—it resembles most the renowned "Adoration" of the Uffizi, with the portraits of the Medici family among the Wise Men and their following. Much less important in dimensions than this altar-piece, it is in quality even finer. The Florentine virility and haughty steadfastness which give a certain well-nigh unique character, among Botticellis, to the latter, are preserved in the St. Petersburg "Adoration." But it is as if the wand of an enchanter had touched the *dramatis personae*, loosening their limbs and thrilling them through with life and passion. The portrait-like character, the haughty virility, are preserved, but there is added in the later version the ardent impulse of onward movement, the concentration of living, pulsating human beings, towards the point of supreme interest, the Divine group,

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which draws and holds them all in humblest worship. And, then again, the movement is not the feverish flutter, as ill-balanced as it is swift, which is among the most distinctive characteristics of the master; it is well-ordered, perfectly under control, and in the highest degree significant. The St. Petersburg example must date some few years after the Uffizi version of the "Wise Men's Offering," but, as the writer holds, before the great series of frescoes executed by Botticelli—in company with Domenico Ghirlandajo, Cosimo Rosselli, Piero di Cosimo, Luca Pignorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio—in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican.

Of the very highest interest is an elaborate triptych, "The Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, the Magdalen, and St. Jerome," which was acquired for the Imperial gallery in 1886, together with other important works from the Musée Galitzine at Moscow, as a Raphael, but is beyond reasonable doubt a fine Perugino of the master's early time, in which it comes somewhat later than the beautiful *tondo*, recalling Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, in the Louvre, and, as nearly as possible, at the same moment as the small "Virgin and Child" in tempera at the National Gallery. Certain figures in the "Crucifixion" are in design almost identical with that curious representation of the supreme tragedy, by Perugino, in the conventual establishment of La Calza, Florence—a work in respect of which the authorship of the great Umbrian was at one time doubted by reason of the strong affinity to the manner of Luca Signorelli, which is therein displayed. There is little or no excuse for preserving the name of the Urbinate in connection with this remarkable Perugino, seeing that two of the most exquisite early Raphaels extant are to be found in the same gallery, and indeed at a few yards distance. One of these is that jewel of the purest water, the "*Madonna Connestabile*," or "*Madonna del Libro*," acquired for the Czar Alexander, in 1870, at Perugia, from the family which gives its name to the panel, at the price—enormous in relation to its size—of 310,000 francs.* This little picture cannot have been painted later than 1502 or 1503; it belongs to the earlier half of the youthful Raphael's Peruginesque practice, but has, far beyond such nearly contemporary performances as the "Madonna Solly" of Berlin,

*The much smaller panel, "The Three Graces," now at Chantilly, which, with the "Vision of a Knight," of the National Gallery, belongs to Sanzio's pre-Peruginesque period, was acquired by the Duc d'Aumale from the Dudley collection, for the still larger sum of 600,000 francs.

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the divine suavity of Sanzio, developed from the mystic calm of Perugino. In this particular, it is only equalled by the "*Madonna del Gran Duca*" of the Pitti, painted some four years later, when Raphael was definitively emerging from the shadow of his master. The drawing for this "*Madonna Connestabile,*" by the German school of criticism given to Raphael, but by the great Milanese critic, Giovanni Morelli, to Perugino, is in the Print Room of the Berlin Museum. It is drawn on the back of a design by Perugino for a "Holy Family with Saints," copied and utilized by Raphael in his so-called "*Madonna del Duca di Terranuova,*" in the Berlin Gallery. In the drawing, the Madonna holds not a book but a pomegranate. Curiously enough, when the St. Petersburg example was transferred from panel to canvas, there was found, between the wood and the painting, what appeared to be the original sketch of Raphael, agreeing not with the picture, but, in the particular just mentioned, with the Berlin drawing. It would thus constitute the intermediate stage between the one and the other. Not less renowned is the other early Raphael, the famous "St. George and the Dragon," painted about 1506, for Duke Guidobaldo, of Urbino, as a present for Henry VII. of England, from whom he had received the Order of the Garter. Count Baldassare Castiglione, whose fame is sustained less by his once renowned work, "*Il Cortegiano,*" than by the wonderful portrait, now in the Louvre, which Raphael painted of him about ten years later on, was charged with the mission to the English King, and set out to accomplish it in July, 1506. The little panel found its way somehow from the royal collection into that of the Earl of Pembroke, for whom it was engraved in 1627 by Lucas Vorsterman. In 16 .8, or thereabouts, Lord Pembroke ceded the panel to Charles I., in exchange for the famous collection of drawings by Holbein, now, after innumerable vicissitudes, restored to the royal collection, and —it need hardly be pointed out—to be found in the library at Windsor Castle. Even for the out-and-out worshipper of Raphael, it is hard to decide who, in such an exchange of masterpieces, got the best of the bargain. In the design of this "St. George," which it is interesting to contrast with the very slightly earlier and entirely different "St. George" of the Louvre, Raphael shows himself an Umbro-Florentine. He has been, evidently, inspired by the relief at the foot of the niche which, outside the church of Orsanmichele, once sheltered the world-famous "St.

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George" of Donatello. This basso-relievo, which is from the same master-hand, is in these days better seen in an old *gesso* at the South Kensington Museum, than in the original marble, now defaced by the usure of the centuries.

A most romantic story attaches to the "*Madone de la Maison d'Albe,*" that often-reproduced Raphael of the earlier Roman period, which is deemed to be one of the great glories of the Hermitage. It was at the end of the eighteenth century in the palace of the Duchess of Alba, at Madrid, where, besides the original, there existed a very good copy. The Duchess, in token of gratitude to her body-physician, for having successfully tended her in a grave malady, bequeathed to him both the priceless original by Raphael and the excellent copy. Her sudden death, in 1801, very soon after this testamentary disposition, made a most sinister sensation in Madrid. The doctor, universally accused of having poisoned his patroness, was sent for trial, but saved through the influence of the then all-powerful Emmanuel Godoy, Prince of Peace. To him the doctor, in recognition of his intervention, gave the copy of the Raphael, but the original he sold to the Danish Ambassador, Count Edmond de Bourke. It was finally, in 1836, acquired for the Hermitage at the great price of fourteen thousand pounds, sterling. A masterpiece of rhythmically perfect design—a harmony, almost a music, in this respect—the "*Madone de la Maison d'Albe,*" undoubtedly is; yet the effort to attain to absolute perfection in this respect is too evident, and it is conveyed to the onlooker that the design is not quite naturally evolved from what would be the spontaneous action of the figures under such conditions as these. Moreover, the rather faded blue and red and crumpled white draperies make, on a first acquaintance with the picture, an effect the reverse of charming. "The Holy Family," known as the "*Madone avec St. Joseph imberbe,*" is generally catalogued as a Raphael, yet it cannot, by the serious student of the master, be accepted as wholly or even principally his—whether we consider its design or its execution. It stands in this respect about on the same level as the Raphaelesque "Madonna and Child" in the Northbrook collection, and below such more celebrated pieces as the Madonna Nicolini, the Garvagh Raphael (*Madonna Aldobrandini*), of the National Gallery, and the "*Vierge au Diadème,*" of the Louvre, in all of which the conception, if not the execution, is wholly Raphaelesque. The "Portrait of an Old

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Man," ascribed to Sanzio is, in the opinion of the writer, the work of the Florentine Bacchiacca. The much discussed eight frescoes which, under the same magic name, came from the Villa Spada on the Palatine, and were acquired for the Hermitage from the Campana collection, need not long detain us. Waagen evoked in respect of them the names of Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni, but even these seem too big to fit the weakly pretty and purely decorative examples of Raphael's school, which, at the Hermitage, occupy a cabinet all to themselves. Five of the subjects are to be found again in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Vatican, the great classic decoration of which was mainly evolved from the designs of Sanzio.

But we must retrace our steps a little, and see what the galleries contain in illustration of the Florentine, Lombard, and Venetian schools in their earlier developments. Still under the name of Granacci hangs the very fine and important "Adoration of the Infant Christ by the Virgin and Saints," which Crowe and Cavalcaselle justly ascribe to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, and identify with the picture which, according to Vasari, he painted for the monastery of Castello. This is in solidity and fineness of balance, greatly in advance of most of Ridolfo's works, revealing, as it does, a marked reminiscence of Domenico Ghirlandajo. It is less empty and superficial, more coherent, than such better known specimens of this facile and eclectic painter as the "Procession to Calvary" of the National Gallery, and the "Adoration of the Shepherds" of Buda-Pesth In a *tondo*, "The Nativity," ascribed with a prudent vagueness to the Florentine school of the sixteenth century, and most unkindly hung, the writer believes that he has rightly recognized an early and particularly fine Albertinelli. It must precede, by some years in point of time, that very popular *tondo*, by the same master, the "Virgin and Child with an Angel," which, at the Pitti, is so uninterruptedly the prey of the perfunctory copyist. Here, in the types, as in the ardent, stimulating color-chord, the influence of Piero di Cosimo, Albertinelli's elder companion in the studio of Cosimo Rosselli, is very evident. The landscape is one of the most charming of a school in which landscape often lacks color and beauty. In the scantily represented Bolognese-Ferrarese school, we find a noble altar-piece, dated 1500, by Francesco Francia, in his best manner, but unfortunately not very well preserved. In a little "Deposition," with

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numerous figures, ascribed to Ercole Grandi, hung high and disfigured with repaints, the writer believes that the Imperial Gallery possesses yet another Francesco Francia. The treatment of the central group is very similar to that in the magnificent lunette with the "Deposition," which is one of the most precious possessions of the National Gallery.

The Hermitage is particularly rich in paintings of that main branch of the Milanese school, which issued from the flank of Leonardo da Vinci. First, we have the famous "*Madonna Litta*," a composition of exquisite beauty, ascribed to the master himself, and which Leonardo's latest biographer, M. Eugene Müntz, seems still much inclined, notwithstanding modern research, to place to his account—an ascription on the part of the learned critic and archivist which would only be comprehensible on the supposition that he had not seen the picture itself. Notwithstanding the beauty of the conception—due, no doubt, in part to the mighty Florentine — notwithstanding the wonderful neatness and finish of the execution, it is evident that the author of the picture is a Milanese, and probably a Milanese of the elder, that is, the Foppa-Borgognone school, who has been superficially converted to that of Leonardo. The sharply contrasting reds and pale blues, the formal arrangement of the head-gear, the carefully banded hair—all these things are as foreign to the technique of Leonardo, at a period which would necessarily be well advanced in his career, as anything that could well be imagined. Crowe and Cavalcaselle put forward the name of Zenale, and alternatively the rather more acceptable one of Boltraffio; Giovanni Morelli, judging only from photographs, inclined to Bernardino di Conti, for whom, limited and clumsy as he now appears, the picture is, it can hardly be doubted, much too fine. A later critic has suggested, not more appropriately, Ambrogio de Predis. The important point must remain open for the present; but it may be laid down that there is no touch of Leonardo's brush on the picture, however much it may breathe forth his spirit.* Another puzzle is the delicious "*La Colombina*," so-called from the flowers which the fantastically dressed, or rather

*In the Stroganoff Palace in the Newski Prospect at St. Petersburg, is to be found under the name of Leonardo, a magnificent example of Boltraffio—a "Head of a Youthful Saint," of that ornate and androgynous beauty peculiar to this follower of Leonardo. It resembles, with important differences, the panels contributed by the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Elgin respectively, to the Milanese Exhibition, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, but is vastly superior in beauty and preservation to these pictures.

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undressed, Milanese beauty, idealized after the Leonardesque fashion, holds in her hand. Here is a work, manifestly by a less than first-rate artist, but which for all that deserves its reputation. If its fascination, even to the student, is indisputable, it is that some drawing by Leonardo himself has here been closely and most happily followed. The picture has until lately borne the manifestly inappropriate name of Bernardino Luini, whose suavity is more personal and less absolutely Leonardesque than this is. Morelli, again compelled to judge from photographs only, gave the "*Colombina*" to Gianpetrino. Had he seen it, he would at once have pronounced the flesh-tones and the general harmony utterly unlike those of that easily recognizable Milanese of Leonardo's immediate following. In the Hermitage the picture has now received, on the initiative of M. de Somof himself, the more appropriate designation of Francesco Melzi. The "*Colombina*" certainly bears a very close resemblance to the "Vertumnus and Pomona" of the Berlin Gallery, which on the authority of a now vanished inscription quoted by Mariette, is by the Berlin authorities taken from Leonardo, and given to his favorite Melzi. Very noticeable in this connection is the curious fact that the face of the "*Colombina*" is closely based on that of the Virgin in the so-called "Cartoon of St. Anne," an incomparable original by Leonardo, which gives fame to the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy in London. The whole figure of the "Pomona," too, suggests inspiration at the same source.

An undoubted original by Bernardino Luini, though it is marked by an asceticism in strong contrast with his usual feminine tenderness, is the life-size, full-length "St. Sebastian." The warrior-saint is here no beautiful ephebe, but a harsh-featured man arrived at full maturity. Luini betrays in this exceptional piece of his that characteristic timidity and lack of flexibility in the treatment of the nude which he never shook off. In his fullest accomplishment, and most perfect maturity, in his own mood of dreamy contemplation and pause from action, he is seen in the delightful "St. Catherine with Angels," which came from the Empress Josephine's Gallery at the Malmaison, where it was, it need hardly be said, called a Leonardo. Of this picture a repetition, or old copy, was recently seen in London at the exhibition of Milanese Art held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. A "Virgin and Child" (No. 75, cat. 1891), is the hardly outlined repetition

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from another and greatly inferior hand of the beautiful "*Madonna Pourtales*," now in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, London. Yet another repetition is in the Czernin Gallery at Vienna, and a very inferior version in the ante-chamber to the Borromeo Gallery at Milan. None of these is for a moment comparable to the *Pourtales* version, as may be ascertained even from a comparison of photographic reproductions.

The earlier Venetians, with the exception of Cima da Conegliano, are conspicuous by their absence.* By that naïve and, up to a certain point, most attractive painter there is a very characteristic "Annunciation" (Galitzine collection), dated 1495. The Hermitage possesses that rarest of all pictorial treasures—save, perhaps, a real Leonardo da Vinci—a genuine Giorgione. This is the beautiful "Judith," which was in some incomprehensible fashion put down by Dr. Waagen to Moretto, and remained thus strangely catalogued for many years. It is possible, seeing only the photographic reproduction, to doubt. There is some hardness in the contour of the head, Giorgionesque as is its oval; there are passages of faulty drawing in the leg and foot exposed; the type of the hand is not that most usually found in authenticated works. But all these doubts vanish like sun-drawn mist in the presence of the work itself; the first glance carries with it conviction, swift and permanent. In no extant Giorgione is the golden glow so well preserved, in none does the mysterious glamor from which the world has never shaken itself free assert itself in more irresistible fashion. It must be remembered that this is a relatively early work, to be placed rather before than after the great "Madonna of Castelfranco." Though the conception is pre-eminently, in its voluptuous beauty, one of the *Cinquecento*, the execution here and there in its charming timidity still reveals the *Quattrocento* at its extreme limit. And then, Barbarelli's drawing, as we see it in the famous "Storm with the Soldier and the Gipsy," of the Giovanelli Palace,† and the later "Concert Champêtre of the Louvre" is in the nude far from impeccable. The coloring is not so much Giorgionesque as Giorgione's own—a widely different thing. The drapery, which recalls the fifteenth

*A "Virgin and Child," dubiously ascribed to Giovanni Bellini, is evidently an original by, or a copy after, the Cremonese Boccaccio Boccaccino; it hangs so high that it would hardly be safe to pronounce more authoritatively on the point.

† Re-christened by Herr Frank Wickhoff of Vienna, "Adrastus and Hypsipyle."

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century, in some of its sharp angles and breaks, is of that pale red, with yellowish high-lights, which is found again in early Titians. Wonderful touches, which the imitative Giorgionesque painter would not have thought of, are the girdle, a mauve-purple now, with a sharply emphasized golden fringe, and the sapphire-blue jewel in the brooch. Triumphs of execution, too, but not in the broad style of Venetian art in its fullest expansion, are the gleaming sword held in so dainty and feminine a fashion, and the flowers which enamel the ground at the feet of the Jewish heroine. This Judith, though she is no warrior-maid, capable of hewing off the head of the hapless Holofernes whom she has lured with her beauty, is still not merely a self-conscious Venetian beauty as which she has been represented. She gazes down at the head, upon which, in token of victory, she has placed her foot, with a tender and regretful interest, much as the Thracian girl in Gustave Moreau's well-known picture at the Luxembourg regards the severed head of Orpheus. What Moreau's latest critic, M. Ary Renan, aptly, if with a certain affectation, calls "*le principe de la belle inertie,*" reigns here as in all Giorgione's genuine works. This is partly because he is still a Quattrocentist, and has not yet acquired perfect command over the whole range of dramatic action; partly, however, because the very nature of his personality causes him to transpose the dramatic mood into the lyrical, the outward drama into the drama of the soul.

The writer, before going to St. Petersburg, had,* arguing from photographs only, pointed out that a "Virgin and Child" (No. 93, catalogue of 1891), bore all the characteristics, not of an early Titian, as which it is catalogued, but of that much rarer thing, an early Giorgione. He must now make frank avowal that the picture is not fine enough in execution to rank as an original by Barbarelli; it appears to him, nevertheless, to reproduce, in a nearly contemporary copy, a lost work of that master closely related to the altar-pieces of Madrid and Castelfranco.

Sebastiano Luciani, whom, from the title of his office at the Papal Court, we know better as Sebastiano del Piombo, is magnificently represented at the Hermitage. The "Christ Bearing the Cross" repeats with even greater intensity, and on a considerably larger scale, the two chief figures only in the similar picture in the Prado Gallery of Madrid, of which there is a fine copy—ac-

* *Magazine of Art*, July, 1895.

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cording to Giovanni Morelli, of Flemish origin—in the Dresden Gallery. The famous "Portrait of Cardinal Reginald Pole" is Raphaelsque enough in style to have been, both in the Crozat collection, and later on at the Hermitage, mistaken for a Raphael, as were, indeed, until quite recent times the greater number of the Veneto-Roman master's portraits, including the so-called "Fornarina" of the Tribuna, the "Dorothea" of Berlin, the "Carondelet" in the Duke of Grafton's collection, and the Sciarra "Violin Player," now belonging to Baron Alphonse de Rothschild of Paris. This is the more curious seeing that Pole received the Cardinal's hat from Paul III., so that the portrait belongs to a comparatively late period of Luciani's practice, and one during which his leanings in sacred art were entirely towards the Michelangelesque. An important "Descent from the Cross," bearing the signature, "*Sebastianus Venetus Faciebat*," is half Raphaelesque, half Michelangelesque. In a certain coldness, both of conception and execution, it is disquieting, and suggests that Luciani may here have been aided in some portions of the picture by one of these Raphaelesques who had grown up round the Urbinate at Rome.

The important canvases by Titian, which constitute one of the chief boasts of the Imperial collection, belong exclusively to the late, some of them, indeed, to the very latest, time. This is accounted for by the circumstance that, with the exception of the "Danaë" (Crozat collection), they were all purchased in 1850 from the Barbarigo collection at Venice, which comprised the contents of the Titian studio, sold after the master's death by the scapegrace Pomponio, who had survived his all but centenarian father and the industrious Orazio Vecellio, his brother, both of them swept away at once by the plague. The "Danaë" is a replica, with certain variations, of the late Titian of the same subject in the Prado Gallery at Madrid, which itself descends from the earlier "Danaë" of Naples, so much more dignified and academic, so much less passionate in its conception than its successor, painted to suit the tastes of Philip II. Another *variante*, not, however, from the brush of the master, is the very similar work in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna. The St. Petersburg picture is, on the whole, very inferior to the Madrid version, though in the head and some few other passages the finishing touches of Titian himself may, in the opinion of the writer, be detected. The

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"Repentant Magdalen," dating from about 1561—the magnificent original of many repetitions and copies—is the most splendid show-piece of Vecellio's late time to be found at the Hermitage; but it is also much more than this. The "Magdalen" of the Pitti Palace, with her cascade of magnificent blond locks, is of the earth earthy, and a repentant sinner only in name. The St. Petersburg "Magdalen," not less superb in her full-blown loveliness, is less conscious of its effect, infinitely more sincere in her tearful appeal to heaven. We descend to earth, and find ourselves in close contrast with Titian's contemporary Venice, when we come to the not less celebrated "*Venus au Miroir*," the original again of repetitions even more numerous than those which exist of the Pitti and Hermitage pictures. Titian is here seen painting, under the transparent disguise of the love-goddess, some exuberantly lovely *cortegiana* of his beloved island city. His mood is undisguisedly sensuous, as befits a subject which must be painted *con amore*; yet, it is mitigated by a certain calmness and nobility not always, in the treatment of such dangerous themes, noticeable in his latest works. Even in the partial ruin of its chief figure the canvas exercises an extraordinary power of attraction. Merely a miserable and much injured copy of a Titian is the "Perseus and Andromeda," which stands, or stood, catalogued in his name at the Hermitage. A far finer version of the same picture, in which Titian certainly had a large part, exists in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, where it has not hitherto been publicly shown with the rest of the gallery. The "Portrait of Pope Paul III. (Farnese)," also a Barbarigo picture, has generally, but quite erroneously, been put down as one of the numerous repetitions of a lost original by Titian. It is, on the contrary—like the great portrait-group at Naples, showing the Pope with Cardinal Farnese and Alessandro Farnese—an unfinished original, and one which differs, too, in essential respects, from the carefully finished portrait, also at Naples, which we must accept as finely reproducing another and more laboriously matured portrait by Titian. The suspicious, watchful look of the Farnese Pope is wonderfully given in the closely observed head, the rest being hastily filled in with a much broader and more careless brush. Latest of all in order of date—with the canvas next to be discussed—is an unfinished "*Ecce Homo*," with half-length figures, which, in its loose, impression-

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istic handling, in its sombre splendors, its intensity of pathos, closely resembles the great "*Ecce Homo*," of Munich—itself a later and finer version of the celebrated picture in the Long Gallery of the Louvre. There was taken out of the depot of the Hermitage, two or three years ago, and is not yet to be found in the catalogue, an unfinished, full-length "St. Sebastian," which must undoubtedly be counted among the most powerful and expressive of Titian's latest performances. Half-wrapped in a tragic gloom, through which is divined, now, rather than seen, a forest country with one blood-red gleam on the horizon, the heroic Roman appears bound naked to the trunk of a tree—but after the ineffectual martyrdom and in absolute solitude. This is a far nobler and more moving conception than either of those versions of the Christian Apollo,—dating half a century further back in the master's immense career—the "St. Sebastian" of Brescia, a splendid athlete in a contorted attitude, and the figure in the Madonna di San Niccolo of the Vatican, which is that of a handsome, over-plump young Venetian of the people.*

To Paris Bordone, in whom are to be found united, on a lower plane of art, some of the characteristics of both Titian and Palma Vecchio, is here ascribed the sumptuous, and, at the same time, curiously naïve, "Portrait of a Lady and Child," once for no satisfactory or conceivable reason called "Isabella d'Este," though it in no particular resembles the authentic portraits of that illustrious patron of art and artists. This picture is greyer in the flesh, bigger in conception, at once broader and less solid in execution, than any authentic Bordone of the same type. It might, with much more probability, be ascribed to the great Friulan, Pordenone. The same fair-skinned, ample patrician—a North Italian but not a dame of Venice, as her huge turban proves—appears in the same splendid robe, and much the same attitude, but without her child, in a portrait owned by Mr. Ludwig Mond of London. One of the masterpieces of Venetian art is the "Pieta" of Paolo Veronese, which once belonged to the Church of San

*It is curious to note that Rubens must have known this unfinished "St. Sebastian" of the Hermitage. The early "St. Sebastian," No. 798H, in the Berlin Gallery, still mainly Italian in style, is but a splendidly vigorous translation into the Italo-Flemish of Titian's tragic conception. The picture is not a copy, like Rubens's avowed copies of the "Adam and Eve" and "Jupiter and Europa" of the Venetian. It is an appropriation and a transformation, which makes the theme Rubens's own, which gives to it a passionate truth less grand, but not less real, than that of the original.

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Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, and was among the many treasures carried away from Italy by the agents of Charles I. of England. Hardly anything, even in Venice itself, gives so exalted an idea of this most splendid, most nobly decorative, of Italian masters as an exponent of sacred art. The Virgin, a massive and Michelangelesque figure, robed in blue-green and white, supports the pale, lifeless body of Christ, a cloth of a more positive blue being sparingly indicated rather than fully seen, near the body. Silver-white is the drapery on which the Christ lies, and pale purple the garment of the mourning angel who helps to support the precious burden. Not a note of more joyous, of franker color is allowed to disturb the solemn, yet rich and exquisitely subtle harmony. No painter of the later Renaissance can surpass Veronese in grandeur and intensity of sacred passion, when he chooses. If this statement should be deemed an exaggeration, let the admirers of the Veneto-Veronese master study a little more closely than they have yet done, the beautiful "Crucifixion" in the Louvre, the "St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata" in the Academy of Arts of Vienna, and the great "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" in the church of that name at Venice, which is, as to its contents, the most glorious of monuments, raised by Veronese to himself.

Of the Italian art of the seventeenth century—that much, and on the whole justly, abused period, which deserves, nevertheless, more respectful treatment than is at present meted out to it—it is impossible to speak here in detail. With a mass of inferior stuff, bad even of its best kind, there are a few things which may rank as masterpieces of their peculiar and, just at present, *démodé* type. Those who, remembering Guido Reni's best work—at Rome and Bologna—should treat his art, rhetorical and self-conscious in passion as it is, with less than respect, would show themselves to be critics of the opportunist type. From the Walpole collection comes a first-rate example of the Bolognese *Caposcuola* in his later style, a "Dispute of the Fathers of the Church on the Immaculate Conception." More popular than this, by reason of a certain *intimité* and tenderness, is "St. Joseph Holding the Infant Christ," another example of the later time, which was originally in the gallery of William II. of the Netherlands. One of the finest and most convincing among the minor works of Domenichino is the "St. John the Evangelist," which

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Nicholas I. acquired at a great price, and presented to his consort, Alexandra Feodorovna. A very similar picture is in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard. Widely differing from these accomplished Bolognese stood out the Neapolitan Salvator Rosa, who was above all himself, much as he owed, as regards technique, to his chief master, Ribera. Here we have a true poet-painter, one in whom passion and imagination pierced through the obstacles placed in the way by the time itself and by the fashionable schools which were its outcome. If his power of direct and forcible representation had equalled his power of original and romantic conception, we should have had here one of the greatest of seventeenth-century artists. Unquestionably, one of his masterpieces is the large "Prodigal Son" which came to the Hermitage from the Walpole collection. By no painter has this most moving and human of motives been presented with a larger and more synthetic simplicity, by none—not even by Rembrandt himself—with a more intense and heart-piercing pathos.

CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

(*To be continued.*)

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A TRANSVAAL VIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

BY DR. F. V. ENGELENBURG, EDITOR OF THE "*PRETORIA VOLKSSTEM.*"

SOUTH AFRICA is poor, extremely poor, in spite of its gold output of nearly two millions per month and its diamond export of five millions per year.

The disabilities from which South Africa suffers are manifold. The climate is glorious, the soil fertile, but the rainfall is uncertain and irregular. There are large tracts where rain falls only once every four or five years; and, where circumstances are more favorable, there are no natural reservoirs in which water can be stored, or certainly none to any appreciable extent. The rivers, dry in summer-time, become foaming torrents in the rainy season, and pour the whole of their waters into the sea. If the Witwatersrand were not situated alongside an extensive formation of dolomite, which absorbs rainwater, and stores it up like a sponge, it would have been utterly impossible for its unrivalled gold industry to attain its present condition, and the Boers to-day would be enjoying the rest and peace which they have ever longed for and deserve.

In addition to the dearth of water, South Africa has had to contend with many other drawbacks, resulting from its clumsy topographical configuration. On its northern confines, it is defenceless against the ravages of nature, which sweep like a whirlwind through the whole of the southern continent. From olden days, Africa has been known as the land of plagues and calamities. Rinderpest sweeps down from the north, and its latest attack, in 1896, brought ruin to both white and black; from the north, too, come the locusts and other noxious insects; from the

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north, come the hot tropical winds, bringing drought and warding off the beneficent rain; and from the north have many clouds arisen casting sinister shadows on this part of the continent. The clumsy configuration of South Africa, to which I have alluded, is the natural result of its plateau-form, with its abrupt descent to the Indian Ocean. The region is devoid of navigable rivers; the seacoast is an endless, monotonous line without fiords, without estuaries, without inlets of any kind, and therefore without harbors. The west coast is, moreover, separated from the interior by wastes of sand dunes; the east coast is unhealthy and haunted by the tsetse fly. No wonder that Phœnicians, Arabs and Portuguese, after their first experience of the country, had little inclination to colonize it, and to make it their home. The only white men who manage to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the southern continent and build up a stalwart nation are the Afrikanders. They are destined to occupy the land for ever, and to thrive here when diamonds and gold shall be things of the past.

And the blacks? I have already said that South Africa is poor, and has never possessed any large population, for the reason that it could not support it. The Bushmen live like beasts of prey in the wilderness; the Hottentots were subject to continuous decimation through sickness and famine. When the warlike Zulus, several centuries ago, came down along the east coast, they drove before them the few handfuls of human beings they encountered, like leaves before the wind, became masters of the best sub-tropical portion of the eastern provinces, murdering and slaying like swarthy Huns, and pressed down to Natal. But although their social organization was higher than that of the nomadic tribes which they superseded, the poverty of South Africa constrained them to continue war amongst themselves. As soon as one Zulu tribe commenced to thrive and increased in wealth of cattle, it became necessary to obtain more land—in other words, to wage war against its neighbors; for South Africa was not able to give shelter to any dense population. That is why the Zulus could only manage to exist either by internecine strife or by occasional emigration, to the natural detriment of the weaker races. Both the legendary and documentary history of South Africa's blacks tends to prove that, when sickness had not to be reckoned with, war inevitably became the means of re-

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ducing the population of this region to its normal sustaining capacity. In recent years, the supremacy of the whites has materially affected internecine war as a limiting factor with regard to native population; but its place has been filled in some measure by disease and drink. There is no doubt, however, that the black population is greatly on the increase, now that they are not permitted to indulge in war amongst themselves. But, at the same time, the importation of foreign "mealies" (maize)—the staple food of the Kaffirs—has also steadily increased; in 1897, the South African Republic imported nearly 36 million pounds of mealies; in 1898, the total importation had risen to over 44½ millions. There will come a day when the natives will cease to get work at the mines, when the mines will be exhausted. Then the importation of South American cereals will fall off, and South Africa will be expected to provide food for its own native population. Will it be equal to the task? The history of the past supplies an eloquent answer.

But with the industrious European colonist, schooled and disciplined by labor, can South Africa not produce what is necessary for his support? The white population of this part of the world amounts, in round numbers, to two millions—a very generous estimate—inhabiting a vast extent of country, larger than France, Germany and Italy together. This population is dependent on the outside world, not merely for the products of technical industry, but also for those of agriculture. We import potatoes and frozen meat from Australia, wood from Canada and Norway, eggs and butter from Europe, meal and mules from America. The sugar and tea grown in Natal cannot compete with the products of Mauritius and Ceylon, without the aid of protection. In order that these two millions of whites may be commercially accessible to the outside world, and that this huge import trade may be practicable, more than fifty million pounds sterling have been devoted to railway construction. Every week sees numerous steamers arriving from all parts of the world, laden with every conceivable kind of goods, to supply the limited South African community with many necessaries of life. Should this means of supply ever be cut off, a large portion of our white and other population would simply starve, or at any rate be deprived of the comforts of life. Only the Boers, who eke out a frugal existence on their secluded farms, and have not yet become depend-

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ent on frozen meat, European butter, American meal and Australian potatoes—only the Boers, who, with rare endurance, the heritage of their hardy race, boldly face years of drought, rinderpest, locusts and fever, could survive such a collapse of the economic machinery of a country so severely dealt with by nature. The remaining Europeans would gradually disappear, just as the Phœnicians and the Arabs disappeared in the days long past. As long as the gold mines and the diamond mines can be worked and made to pay, so long will the abnormal economy of South Africa preserve its balance; but as soon as South Africa has swallowed up its capital to the very last bit of gold, the Uitlander will have to seek for fresh fields for the exercise of his nervous energy, and the Afrikander will be abandoned to his struggle with the inimical elements, as has ever been his lot in the past. By the sweat of his brow he will have to lead his carefully stored-up water to the fields continuously threatened by locusts, he will have to shield his flocks from plague and theft, he will have to preserve continual watch against the inroads of the ever-increasing blacks. The Boer—that is the agriculturist—is destined to be the Alpha and Omega of South Africa's white culture; he alone, in this quarter of the globe, can save civilization from the ultimate gulf of bankruptcy. To say that South Africa is a rich land, or to paint its future in glowing colors and to dilate on the brilliant prospects that it offers to an unlimited white population, is only possible to an extraordinarily superficial observer, to an unscrupulous company-promoter, or to an over-zealous emigration agent, whose salary is in proportion to the number of his victims.

The first European power which acquired a firm footing in the East Indies, the Portuguese, simply ignored South Africa. The Portuguese were succeeded by the Hollanders, who, not until after much hesitation and two futile attempts to conquer Mozambique, decided to take possession of Africa's southern extremity. And the English, in common with the Hollanders, never desired aught but the few harbors which South Africa possesses; the interior had no value in the eyes of the European maritime powers, which only looked to the opulent East. A clear illustration of this is furnished by the fact that, although possessing Walvisch Bay, England quietly acquiesced in Germany's protectorate over the hinterland; and another instance is to be found in the anxiety which England has recently shown to get hold of Delagoa Bay

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and Beira. The possession of these harbors would give to the British Empire control of the sea-way to the East, and to the English merchants such trade with the interior of South Africa as circumstances might permit. Neither the Dutch East India Company nor the British rulers bestirred themselves in any way, in connection with the steady expansion of the white colonists in the hinterland. And this interior colonization had barely acquired any importance before there arose both petty and material disturbances with the authority representing the purely European factor. This was not at all difficult to understand. The community at the Cape was composed of administrators and merchants who amassed considerable fortunes by means of the uninterrupted trade between Europe and India; the luxury which reigned at the foot of Table Mountain was proverbial; all the comforts of European civilization could be enjoyed in sunny South Africa, untroubled by the shadows of the Old World. In vivid contrast to this luxurious life of ease, the burdens of the inland colonists were, indeed, grievous to be borne; rough, hardy pioneers of the wilderness, their life was one prolonged struggle with poverty, with ravaging beasts of prey, and with stealthy Bushmen and Hottentots. No wonder, therefore, that, little by little, a social gulf was created, that a marked dissimilarity of character was gradually developed between the up-to-date Cape patricians, treading the primrose paths of luxury, and the nomadic shepherds of the veldt, independent of aught save their fowling-pieces, and undisputed lords of the limitless plateau behind the mountains fringing the coast. No wonder, therefore, that the mere handful of conquerors of the Great Karroo had little love for the arbitrary rule of a Proconsul in Cape Town Castle, on behalf of an authority having its headquarters in Europe.

Under the Dutch East India Company friction often arose between the two white elements of the Colony, and when the Cape fell into the hands of the British, in the beginning of the present century, the old antagonism continued to exist. I once heard it said that when Napoleon surrendered to the British in 1815, there was some talk of assigning to him, as a final resting-place, that pretty country estate of the early Dutch Governors, not far from Cape Town, but that this idea had to be given up, on account of distrust of the feelings of the inland colonists, there being some fear that South Africa might see a repetition of the

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Elba incident. As long as the Imperial authorities left the inland colonists to themselves, and only exercised a general repressive control, the relationship between the two white communities of South Africa remained satisfactory, but as soon as the strings were pulled too suddenly from Europe, and the Cape authorities had to carry out a grasping, despotic policy, the two elements inevitably came to loggerheads. The best South African politicians —both British and Boer—are those who have frankly admitted that the political key to South Africa lies in an intelligent insight into the limit which should be allowed to Briton, Boer and Black. In other words, let each of the three fulfil the mission which nature has allotted to him, and then this much-vexed continent will enjoy the rest and peace of which it so urgently stands in need.

Is it necessary to give a résumé of the painful episodes which thronged upon one another in South Africa in the nineteenth century? The result of a hundred years of incompetency, weakness, vacillation, and reckless greed culminates to-day in the awful probability of an insensate strife between two hardy vital races, races unique by reason of their capacity for colonial expansion, races of similar origin and religion, races whose internal co-operation could have made this country, if not exceptionally prosperous, at least a particularly happy land, so that the dream of one of its most gifted children, Thomas Pringle, might have been fulfilled in gladsome measure:

> "South Africa, thy future lies
> Bright 'fore my vision as thy skies."

The first beneficent breathing-space which was granted to South Africa by the fatal British policy, was when, in 1852 and 1854—after numberless mistakes had been committed by the Imperial authorities, mistakes which no historian now attempts to deny—the South African Republic and the Free State were respectively left to their own resources, by solemn covenants with the British Government—in other words, when the formal principle was adopted by England that the Briton should be "baas" of the coast and the Boer of the hinterland. The circumstances under which this took place had in the meantime become very grievous: the Boer States never had a fair start; the British maritime colonies levied enormous duties on goods consigned to the interior, and squeezed as much out of the Afrikander republics as

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they possibly could. And thus whilst the British merchants at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban waxed fat and wealthy, the Boers became more and more impoverished. But they were sustained in their struggle against poverty by the hardy spirit which was their peculiar heritage from their forefathers. And although the Free State and the Transvaal languished in their material development, and Natal and the Cape battened upon them, the Boers were satisfied, like the lean dog in the fable who did not envy the lot of his richer brother, because the latter had to wear a heavy collar of gold.

The generous policy of 1852 and 1854 was only too short-lived. The lucid moments of the Anglo-African politicians have been, alas! few and far between. First came the ruthless annexation of Basutoland by the British authorities, just at the moment when the Free State had clipped the wings of the Basutos and rendered further resistance futile. Then came the unrighteous annexation of Griqualand West, which suddenly found favor in the eyes of the British on account of the discovery of diamonds, and on which arose the Kimberley of to-day. This was followed by the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with all the bitter feeling that naturally resulted therefrom. And then the Sir Charles Warren expedition, by which the Boers were deprived of Bechuanaland, because Mr. Rhodes—whose fortunate career at the Kimberley Diamond Fields enabled him to give the rein to his restless ambition—wanted to open up a pathway to the north, to the Rhodesia of to-day. Then came the establishment of the Chartered Company, followed by the notorious Jameson Raid. Such petty incidents as the Keate Award, the Swazieland Muddle, the Annexation of Sambaan's Land, I will pass over, for brevity's sake. In short, the beneficent policy of 1852 and 1854, which was for a moment revived under the Gladstone Ministry of 1881—when the independence of the South African Republic was restored—has been the exception during the century now speeding to its close. British statesmen apparently failed to see that South Africa could only be served by giving each race the domain which destiny had prepared for it, viz., the Boer the hinterland and the Britisher the coast, together with the rights and obligations connected therewith. The welfare of the interior states has ever been the life-buoy to which the whole of South Africa has clung, in times of darkness and

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depression. Let the interior have a fair opportunity of thriving as well as the peculiar circumstances of the country permit, and the subjects of Queen Victoria will be able to enjoy the manifold pleasures of life without one drop of English soldiers' blood having to be spilt.

The immediate motive which prompted Sir Theophilus Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 was the commencement made by President Burgers of the long-cherished railway to Lourenço Marques. Natal and Cape Colony were not satisfied with squeezing the inland States by means of heavy duties, high postal tariffs, and enormous trade profits; they sought the complete economic dependency of the Republics, by prohibiting all railway traffic except through British ports. The selfishness of a commercial community knows no limit.

The second attempt to annex the South African Republic—with which the names of British politicians were connected—was not the result of a commercial policy, but it furnishes a striking illustration of the capitalism which has become such an important factor in South African policy, since the amalgamation of the diamond companies of Kimberley into one mighty body. The fact that to-day—whilst these lines are being written—this unhappy continent is on the eve of a *bellum omnium contra omnes*, can only be explained by the overwhelming influence acquired by certain *"nouveaux riches"*—whose social existence depends upon the Transvaal gold industry—among those who on the British side are shaping the fate of South Africa.

During the course of the present century, this part of the world has witnessed a variety of "agitations." It was the negrophilist agitation which drove the Boers in bitterness of spirit beyond the boundaries of Cape Colony; and it was an administrative agitation which for a long time impeded their progress and threw all manner of obstacles in their way; it was the politics of the counting-house which suggested the annexation of the Diamond Fields and the annexation of the Transvaal; and it is a stock exchange organization which is pulling the strings of the movement of to-day. Of all these agitations, the last—that of the financiers—is the most despicable, the most ominous, the most dangerous, and the most unworthy of the British nation. The Boers can forgive Dr. Philip for his negrophilistic ardor, they can forgive Sir Harry Smith, Sir Philip Wodehouse, Sir Bartle Frere, and

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Sir Owen Lanyon for their excess of administrative zeal, but no Afrikander will bow down at the bidding of a group of foreign speculators.

When the Witwatersrand gold fields were discovered, the Transvaalers had already had some experience of the advantages and disadvantages attendant on the possession of mineral wealth. In the early seventies, the opening up of the alluvial deposits at Pilgrim's Rest, in the northeast of the Republic, was the cause of considerable immigration. In the eighties, there was a rush to the diggings at Dekaap, of which Barberton became the centre, the Afrikander element being strongly represented. From the very beginning, the law-makers of the Transvaal dealt very leniently with the miners, the vast majority of whom were foreigners. The Boers knew of the mineral wealth of their country at an early date, but they never felt constrained to exchange the quietude of their pastoral life for the feverish existence of the gold-seeker. The Boers have never endeavored to turn the presence of gold in their soil to practical account, and make it a direct source of national income; as, for instance, the Chartered Company has done, expropriating a large portion of the profits of the gold fields. An instance of this liberal legislation, more striking than a long array of figures, is furnished by the public lottery of gold claims—some of which are extremely valuable—which is now taking place, and in which both burghers and Uitlanders can participate without distinction.

The exceptionally generous legislation of the Boers with regard to mining matters was effected with the sole object of fostering agriculture; this has, however, only been realized in part, owing to the fact that the expansion of the mining industry gradually made native labor dear, and thus heavily handicapped the agriculturist. The administration of the Boers in the days of Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton compares very favorably with that of the Diamond Fields of Cape Colony. The Transvaalers were good-natured, but they had no inclination to be trifled with. In those days there was no talk of Uitlanders' grievances, nor even during the early years of Johannesburg. The Witwatersrand is not situated, like Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton, in an unfrequented part of the country, but it lies to the immediate south of Pretoria, between Potchefstroom and Heidelberg, in the very heart of the Boer States. Johannesburg sprang up with aston-

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ishing rapidity, and offered special attractions to the large number of South African adventurers who, like Mr. Micawber, were only "waiting for something to turn up." From their farms in the Free State, from their wayside stores in Cape Colony, from their plantations in Natal, from their broker offices in the Diamond Fields, they gathered together—men of every type and every class, but united in their feverish thirst for wealth. The expectations of the most sanguine were realized; they reaped a rich harvest in the shape of large exchange profits, although many of their number knew practically nothing about mining or financial administration. Then came the inevitable collapse in 1889, which only spared the most fortunate; and the great majority of this strangely mixed community were gradually compelled to make room for more competent men from Europe and America. These brought brains and experience into their work, and placed the industry upon a more solid basis; but they also inoculated the Uitlanders with the *bacilli* of discord and revolution, much to the detriment of the shareholders across the sea.

The appearance of the present-day Uitlander—that is to say, the grievance-bearing or rather grievance-seeking stranger—dates from the period when qualified experts satisfied themselves as to the uniquely favorable situation of the precious metal in Witwatersrand—from the time when wild speculation began to make room for a genuine exploitation of the mines. The preliminary period to which I refer above was the cause of an influx of immigrants into the Republic. They spread themselves over the face of the country, penetrating into the most outlying spots, in order to procure material for the flotation of mining companies. This period also saw the birth of the "Land and Estate" Companies, who generally bought up the most uninhabited or uninhabitable farms for speculative purposes. By reason of foreign ownership of large tracts of land, the argument is often advanced that an enormous portion of the South African Republic no longer belongs to the Boers. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that, whilst the Boer has been severely condemned for his slothfulness in matters agricultural, practically none of the land companies has ever devoted more than a few acres to the growing of crops. When the period of wild speculation suffered a collapse, the Uitlander no longer spread himself over the whole of the Republic. Henceforward, the Witwatersrand was the exclusive scene of his

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labors, and here he elected to pitch his tent. Outside the Rand, he confined himself to the ordinary occupations of the olden days —that of storekeeper for the folk of the few rustic centres, and bank manager, hotelkeeper, and clergyman in the solitary country towns.

After the crash of 1889, Johannesburg slowly became *the* Uitlander town *par excellence.* It deserves to be recorded that, as the output of gold began to show a continual increase, the "Uitlander question" acquired a proportionate magnitude. In every country where foreigners are to be found in appreciable numbers, there is an Uitlander question. It exists in France, in regard to the Italians and Belgians living there; in Japan, in regard to the Americans and Britishers; in London, in regard to the Poles; in the Middle Ages the Jews were in many cases a powerful "Uitlander" element. During the last century, the Germans in Russia have been "Uitlanders," and, according to the Czechs and Hungarians, they are so in Austria to-day. But the Uitlander question in the South African Republic differs from the Uitlander question elsewhere, as it has been made the cause of an international dispute between two States of unequal strength. In its present form, the Uitlander question is only the mask of a financiers' plot, of a piece of Exchange jobbery. It has steadily kept pace with the gold output. In 1889, £1,500,000 was produced. In that year, Johannesburg was horrified by a series of stealthy murders which were only explained as the handiwork of "Jack the Ripper." No one thought at that time, however, of saddling the Transvaal Government with responsibility for them, or of sending plaintive petitions to England as to the danger of life in the South African Republic! Everyone understood, then as now, that gold-fields offer peculiar attractions to questionable characters of all classes. In March, 1890, during a visit of President Krüger to the Golden City, the Transvaal flag was pulled down from the Government buildings. It subsequently transpired that this was only the work of some drunken rough, and the mining and mercantile communities lost no time in expressing their disapproval of the incident. The realization of the practical value of the deep-level theory—in other words, the ultimate conviction as to the indisputable durability and wealth of the Witwatersrand gold-fields—has, in the meantime, become the signal for an agitation against the Government and

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the people of the South African Republic. From this period dates England's claim to suzerainty over the South African Republic and the paramount-powership in South Africa, of which hitherto no mention had ever been made. In 1894, the then High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, was present at some diamond-drill experiments at the Rand, which proved beyond dispute the continuous nature of the gold-bearing reef at a considerable depth, and at an important distance from the outcrop reef. During this visit, Sir Henry Loch made a promise to the mining magnates—as per letter of Mr. Lionel Phillips, then the Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines*—to stir up the Transvaal Government on condition that the "Uitlander" agitation increased in intensity. The Transvaal Green Book provides instructive reading even for to-day; it contains extracts from private letters from Mr. Phillips to his London friends. On the 10th of June, 1894, he wrote to Mr. Beit:

"As to the franchise, I do not think many people care a fig about it."

On the 1st of July of the same year, he wrote to Mr. Wernher:

"Sir H. Loch (with whom I had two long private interviews alone) asked me some very pointed questions, such as what arms we had in Johannesburg, whether the population could hold the place for six days until help could arrive, etc., etc., and stated plainly that if there had been 3,000 rifles and ammunition here he would certainly have come over. He further informed me, in a significant way, that he had prolonged the Swaziland agreement for six months, and said he supposed in that time Johannesburg would be better prepared—as much as to say, if things are safer then we shall actively intervene."

This conversation took place at Pretoria, where Sir Henry Loch, as the representative of Her Majesty's Government, was the honored guest of the Transvaal people! On the 15th of July of the same year, Mr. Phillips wrote to Mr. Beit:

"We don't want any row. Our trump card is a fund of £10,000 or £15,000 to improve the Volksraad. Unfortunately the Gold Companies have no Secret Service Fund."

All this happened in 1894, when the gold output had already reached a total of nearly $7\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. In 1895, it had risen to $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions; the "trump card" had also risen and amounted to £120,000, with which sum the Reform movement at Johannesburg was partially financiered—a movement which came to an untimely end at Doornkop.

* *Vide* Transvaal Green Book, No. 2, of 1896.

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In 1897 the inquiry by the official Industrial Commission took place, the result being a substantial lowering of railway tariffs and import dues. But the "grievances" still remained, and increased in 1897 in sympathy with the gold output, which had now reached the large figure of 11½ millions. Still more "unbearable" were these "grievances" in 1898, during which year 16¼ millions of gold was dug out of Transvaal soil. This was the year of the Edgar affair and of the Uitlander Petition, and in the same year forty-five gold companies of the Rand (the share capital issued being £20,294,675) paid out in dividends no less than £5,089,785—an average of 25 per cent.! The output for 1899 has already been estimated at 22½ millions, and the number of dividend-paying companies increases every month.

In 1896, the rural population were visited by a series of grievous plagues—by rinderpest, by drought, by locusts, and by the dreaded fever. While the Uitlanders of the Rand were reported to be groaning under the oppression of their Egyptian taskmasters, and European shareholders were depicted as helpless victims of a corrupt Krüger régime, the Boers were "taking up arms against a sea of troubles" which threatened to overwhelm them, and of which we heard exceedingly little, either in the local papers or in the cable columns of the London press. Whilst thousands of Boer families saw the fruit of long years of toil plucked away by the hand of God in a single season, the campaign of libel on behalf of the Uitlanders was vigorously prosecuted with the help of money won from Transvaal soil by mining magnates, the princely munificence displayed by whom in London and other places outside South Africa was occasionally referred to in the local papers as a joyous chord between the "grievance" symphonies that were struck in the minor key.

I have little inclination to expatiate on the true character of the present movement against the Boers; but I do say that to support the latest type of agitation against the white population of the interior of South Africa is unworthy of the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race. The South African Republic is not without political blemishes; as in every other country, we have our administrative scandals, both great and small; we have our social and economic plague-spots, which must be made to disappear. Gold-fields never were fountains of pure morality nor are they so in South Africa. Has one ever pictured the future of the

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most civilized country of the Old World if a second Johannesburg were to spring up in mushroom fashion? I do not wish to speak evil of the wire-pullers of the present agitation against the Afrikanders; but, surely, those persons whose princely palaces have been built with Transvaal gold, and who cry out so loudly against our government, should be the last to throw stones against the Republic. The "oligarchy" at Pretoria—to use Mr. Chamberlain's recent expression—consists of barely a few dozen Boers; there is, therefore, strong evidence in favor of this "oligarchy" in the fact that it has been able to offer such prolonged resistance to the well-disposed and undoubtedly disinterested attempts of such gentlemen as Lionel Phillips to "improve" them from Johannesburg and London. Such an "oligarchy" is without a parallel in modern times. It forms a striking contrast to the worship of the golden calf on the Witwatersrand, from which Pretoria is only distant about three hours on horseback. Such an "oligarchy" deserves to be carefully preserved rather than destroyed, as we preserve from total extinction some rare plant or peculiar species of animal.

There are undoubted grievances in the South African Republic, but they are not the exclusive property of the Uitlanders; a discreet silence is observed with respect to the wrongs of the Transvaal burghers, and I do not feel it to be my task to dilate upon them now. But still they exist, although the absorbing selfishness of the mining magnates keeps back the light of day; the lust for gold stifles all generosity, compassion, mercy, brotherly love, and respect for the rights of the weak. What Monomotapa was to the Phœnicians and Arabs, Witwatersrand is to our present gold-seekers, and to most of the Uitlanders—a temporary land of exile, which they only endure for the sake of the gold. Can we picture the wise king Solomon demanding the franchise for his subjects in the realms of the Queen of Sheba?

South Africa is poor; it will remain poor, in spite of its gold and its diamonds. It will never be able to pay back the cost of a bitter strife, unless the gold-bedecked princes come forward with the treasure which they have wrung from the land. As long as the Boers allow the modern Phœnicians to dig the precious metals out of Transvaal soil without heavy impositions, and to have a free hand in the administration of the country and the government of the native population, it will be found that the best busi-

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ness policy will be to leave the Boers in undisturbed possession of their country, free to rule it by their own healthy instinct and according to the good old traditions of their forefathers, with their own language, their own rulers, their own aspirations—even with their own faults and prejudices.

It should not be forgotten that, from the earliest days of the gold-fields, the Uitlanders knew that the South African Republic was an "oligarchy"; they knew that the Boers were "illiterate," "stupid," "ignorant," and a great deal besides; they knew that a dynamite monopoly existed, and that President Krüger was a "hard nut to crack." Notwithstanding this knowledge the "Uitlanders" have flocked in by thousands, and foreign capital has been invested amounting to several hundreds of millions sterling. During the first five months of the present year, Transvaal gold and other companies were registered here with a combined capital of over £15,391,389. In July last—in the middle of the crisis—five new companies were registered with a capital of £1,159,000. And of all the Uitlanders only a section of the British subjects are genuinely dissatisfied. Notwithstanding that the "oppression" of the Transvaal "oligarchy" has been told and retold, until the world has become sick and weary, immigrants are still pouring in from all quarters of the globe.

The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice. Those who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness, or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled opportunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tears; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past, the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs; for they know they have right on their side.

Well would it be for the British nation if they could but realize the significance of those words of Russell Lowell:

"Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne,
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own."

F. V. ENGELENBURG.

Pretoria, August, 1899.

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THE PRESENT LITERARY SITUATION IN FRANCE.

BY HENRY JAMES.

THERE are as many reasons just now, I dare say, as can well be pointed out for a certain sense of difficulty on the part of those who, caring for the things of the mind, desire, as the century draws to its end, to accompany its last steps with some acknowledgment of a great particular debt. We have all owed so much to the France of the past fifty years, that we should fail of common good manners were we to neglect the right moment—as this might naturally be deemed—for putting our gratitude on record. The difficulty I just spoke of is, however, that the right moment happens, by a shocking perversity and just in time to disconcert us, to have assumed every appearance—every superficial one, at least—of being the wrong. There has, unfortunately, for all the fifty years, been no crisis in France at which the things of the mind were so little the fashion. Practically suppressed and smothered, stricken and silent behind the bars of their hideous political cage, we must think of them as, at the worst, only living by the light of faith and biding their time. What is, at any rate, most clear to us is that to doubt of any but a happy issue for them would be a particularly cheap disloyalty. They are there, and they will again show it. They were still there till the other day, and any appearance of virtual extinction is, therefore, promptly to be challenged. The bad dream must pass, and the prospect of relief and of a good day's work must come with the morning.

Our concern, moreover—to speak of ourselves—is, at this date, mainly for those who shall follow us. The question for us, in the presence of the actual, sharp eclipse, is of the prospect of profit for the new generation; of whether it may count, at the best, on forming ties and receiving benefits that shall have been at all

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a match for our own. We have been, we others, a fortunate company, and it is only of late that our fortune has sensibly shrunken. When I think of the "good time" we have had, the readers who began in the fifties and sixties to be aware of their luck, I have to acknowledge with a sigh that the longest feast comes, in the nature of things, to an end. "It is not to be expected," we are prepared blandly to say to our children, "that you should be as happy as we." Yet it comes back, after all, to what may really be left for them.

There is no convenient measure of this that does not involve some measure, first, of what has been taken; and yet I am afraid of going but too far if I begin to analyze the sense of loss that abides with the elder contemporary. I must remember, too, that he pleads in such a case for his own house, and that his own house—poor wretch that he is—is essentially his own youth and the irrecoverable freshness of its first curiosities and its first responses. Lucky for him, indeed, if letters were his bent, that he could cultivate them in the near presence of the greater figures—of Victor Hugo and Sainte-Beuve, of Balzac and George Sand, of Taine and Renan and Flaubert. The generosity of youth, all the same, I bear in mind, makes its own heyday; and I am not without envy of those who, at present, are able to add that agreeable sauce to their relish of—for instance—M. Anatole France. On the other hand, of course, it is quite open to the new generation to spend their time, to their hearts' content, with Victor Hugo and Balzac, with Sainte-Beuve and Madame Sand. The truth, however, remains that preference, at any period, settles, gracefully enough, on those flowers of production that the period itself wears in its breast. The other flowers, faded petals and withered herbage, come too much within the definition of the "pressed." They lurk between the leaves of the books that have ceased to lie on the table, the books that lurk, themselves, behind cold glass. It is with those on the table that we are now concerned; and, to be definite about the moment at which they may be taken as exchanging the table for the honor of the upper shelves, I shall assume this occasion to be that of the author's death.

The great historians are dead, then—the last of them went with Renan; the great critics are dead—the last of them went with Taine; the great dramatists are dead—the last of them went with

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Dumas; and, of the novelists of the striking group originally fathered by the Second Empire, Émile Zola is the only one still happily erect. The present men, in different quarters, are the younger—so much the younger that Zola, among them, rises almost like a patriarch. This is the case even with the critics—the race which, as a general thing, is least accountable for itself when positively young. It much enriches the experience of a reader who has come to fifty years, that he can really recall the time when Jules Lemaître was not. It even, perhaps, in truth, contributes to that wisdom that he has lived to be conscious of a period once more practically deprived of this possession. M. Lemaître is still on the table, but I think it not injudicious to say that his happiest star has, within less than twenty years, set as well as risen. None the less, with whatever losses, it is not yet on the critical side that the French intelligence may be noted as faltering to any such degree as shall minister to the comparative complacency of observers—and, least of all, of competitors—of our own race. The spirit of conversation is so indefeasible a part of the genius of the people that, however among them the creative gift may flicker, the last light markedly to pale must ever necessarily be the form that has most in common with suggested talk. If the races personally inexpressive, monosyllabic at best, may be—as regards letters and art—handicapped by that fact for criticism, so it is beyond contradiction, I think, that the French, on the opposite basis, have so much the start of us that the spirit of the matter begins for them quite where we are condemned to see it—and in no little exhaustion—give way. There are always criticism and *causerie*, in short, in France, even if there be not always Sainte-Beuve; and this can never, it is well to remember, be so much an advantage to a nation as on the occasion of its having to recognize other conditions of weakness. Marked as such conditions may, on other lines, have become, it is still the French genius that would have the most and the best to say about them. Twenty volumes of free discussion of such and other kinds of possibility appear in Paris for one that is published in London or in New York. This is a circumstance not to be lost sight of in any estimate, on our own part, of the rise or the fall: it may turn so in favor of the presumption that our standpoint for appreciation needs a little further building up. I confess that I am conscious of how much, among us all, it requires an indifference to

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lurking irony to say that M. Jules Lemaître is not so good as—well, as he used to be.

He is not so good just now, at all events, as M. Émile Faguet; nor as the authors of several of the happiest little volumes—at once so much and so little on the pattern of the series of the "English Men of Letters"—in Hachette's undertaking of "*Les Grands Écrivains Français.*" The latter publication has had its ups and downs, but nothing is more suggestive, in many ways, than to compare the spirit and the form of it with those of its predecessor. The authors of the English studies appear to labor, in general, under a terror of critical responsibility; the authors of the French, on the contrary, to hunger and thirst for it. The authors of the English, shirking and dodging, at every turn, any relation of their subject that may compel them to broach an idea, hug the safe and easy shore of small biographical fact and anecdote; the authors of the French are impatient till they can put out into the open and sound its depths and breathe its air. That he was so far from being afraid of ideas as to find, on the contrary, something like intoxication in them, was the more particular secret of that early freshness of M. Jules Lemaître which makes us recall with delight the first years of his activity. It was, perhaps, his defect that one could serve for his amusement almost as well as another; this led him, in time, to play with them too much the game of cup-and-ball—there was none too light or too heavy for him to toss in the air, with an art all his own, and catch again. He had acquired his perfection at this exercise in the great and beautiful school—had, with a diligence only to be matched in Anatole France, studied under Ernest Renan that art of imperturbable charmed inquiry, vertiginous speculation and inconclusive thought of which this beautiful genius was so happy a master. Whereas, however, the positive high beauty of Renan's temper was ever in itself a kind of conclusion, it was the fate of this most promising of his pupils to give us, finally, the impression of a critic trying rather vainly not only to make up a mind, but to make up a character. Had I space in these too few pages to do more, on any side, than glance, it would be extremely interesting—it would, I think, sharply point a moral—to follow the successive steps by which the author of "*Les Contemporains*" was to become, little by little, and comparatively speaking, a sort of reduced, disembodied agility, playing his trick in a close room and

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a stale air. The strange thing was that, when he at last elected, as we say, to represent a conviction, he should have fixed upon one of the ugliest. His voice was loud, throughout the "Affair" —by no means concluded as I write—in the anti-revisionist and anti-Semitic interest. And I remember, with due deference to the mystery of things, that there was a year or two in the time of their working, as it were, side by side when I wondered if Anatole France were not, of the two, the less to be desired.

Things have changed since then, and the author of "*La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pedauque*," the creator of Monsieur Bergeret and of Sylvestre Bonnard, has shown a complexity of talent in the presence of which the interest that he inspires deepens more and more—I speak at least for myself—to a sense of fascination. M. Lemaître, on the other hand, has pushed his fortune, both in the critical and in the more directly productive way, more and more in the quarter of the theatre—a phenomenon which would, precisely, receive its due attention in any study of what I cannot help thinking his rather dark deviation. Of the more distinctly critical industry of his happier rival, I may take no space to speak, the later development of M. France placing him in a new and special category. And then there remain M. Brunetière, the editor of the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," who has lectured, with authority, in the United States, and M. Émile Faguet and M. Paul Bourget, each in his degree a striking representative of certain sides of the French critical spirit. M. Bourget, indeed, like M. France, has found his most effective vocation as a novelist —though his productions in this character bristle, not less than those of M. France, and much, I hasten to add, to their enrichment, with that superior presence of the insistent question which the fiction of our day has so happily learned to treat as an aid to the rendering of appearances. Of all novelists, M. Bourget has most the mark of having learnt his trade in a school—the school of reflection—not hitherto supposed to be that of the novel; which is exactly, moreover, one of the things that make him most interesting. His subject is always an idea, and he is capable of regarding an idea as a positive source of "excitement."

I have the less regret at being able, in this small summary, only to testify to the large space occupied, in the public eye, by M. Brunetière, as, critically speaking, he has been, to my judgment, the least genial, in the German sense, of all such recent

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appearances. M. Brunetière is two distinct things which are much better kept so than united: an extremely erudite mind and an extremely irritated temper. He is full of information and chagrin, and it is one way to describe him—since I may deal but in the shortest cuts—to say that his intelligence has not kept pace with his learning. It has gone into that large and lighted, but unduly heated, chamber and closed the door behind it; and there, perched at the narrowest of windows, it has looked through a glass darkly—with fatal frustration. He produces the impression of second-rate opinion, of perception arrested and confused. It does him no injustice to say that he represents that least luminous of all things, official criticism. The only office of the critical understanding that does not stultify it is to *give* itself, to the last drop of its blood. If M. Brunetière has made this surrender, it can only be said that he had not originally much to give. Of the most interesting things that have happened round about him, he strikes me as having been the interpreter the most hampered; and it is scarcely too much to say that his country and his age have, to a certain extent, been wasted on him. There are other periods, certainly other climes, that, frankly, would have served him quite as well.

With M. Émile Faguet, since I must also be brief, I prefer to speak under impressions most recently received, and in particular under that of the extraordinarily able little study of Gustave Flaubert just contributed to the "*Grands Écrivains.*" Remarkably full and remarkably intelligent, M. Faguet had previously struck me as—I confess it with compunction—perceptibly common. The case, indeed, was almost ambiguous—how *could* a writer be common who not only always knew, but always felt, his affair so well? M. Faguet's affair was invariably excellent. But I remember the ambiguity dropped when, one day last spring, in the reading-room of a foreign hotel, I came across the newspaper in which, on the occasion of the death of Francisque Sarcey, our critic, in an admirable piece of fore-shortening, commemorated that colleague. The portrait, in a few strokes, yet of a handling the largest and fairest, was a little miracle of understanding and expression. Decidedly, M. Faguet was *not*, in this case, common; and that imputation appears to me, on the whole, to apply equally little to his exhaustive—his almost too exhaustive—analysis of the author of "*Madame Bovary.*" I am reduced, however, I admit,

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in respect to this performance, almost to a single state of mind—that of absolutely grateful appreciation of the particular long chapter devoted to Flaubert's masterpiece. It is not that this chapter contains no utterance whatever with which I find myself at odds: if one had space one might, surely, on the contrary, contest with some spirit the supreme place it assigns to "*Madame Bovary*" as an exhibition of the perverse female creature. Nothing will ever prevent Flaubert's heroine from having been an extremely minor specimen, even of the possibilities of her own type, a two-penny lady, in truth, of an experience so limited that some of her chords, it is clear, can never have sounded at all. It is a mistake, in other words, to speak of any feminine nature as consummately exhibited, that is exhibited in so small a number of its possible relations. Give it three or four others, we feel moved to say—"then we can talk." But this, I hasten to add, is beside the matter in my mind, which is that of the happy lift assuredly given to any worker in Flaubert's field who may read M. Faguet's chapter. What can it be else than a joy to an artist to encounter so concrete an example of the undertaking, in the presence of a work of art, to *consider?* The pages I speak of are a masterpiece of consideration. Let them remain as a proof of what, to the critic, is possible in that line. There is no excuse after them for any question of the matter.

To have just encountered, in connection with this name, I may further observe, the much more diffused one of the late M. Sarcey, is to feel afresh with what eagerness I profit by my exemption from speaking of the dead. This most sedentary of spectators—his eminent office, as all know, was that of theatrical reporter for upwards of thirty years to "*Le Temps*"—was incontestably, during much of his career, one of the "forces" of literary criticism in France; but he would take us much further than it would be worth our while to go. He was, in his way, a massive and genial figure, but he was, on the whole, little of a light. One may desire all honor to his shade and still be conscious that one has even yet not forgotten, among many things indeed, certain recent cases in which his vulgarity of judgment was a strange—was, in fact, a ridiculous—false note in the "authority" he had so patiently built up. I recall, from a few months ago, a presentation of "Othello" at the Théâtre Français, which, both as to the version adopted and the rendering offered, was a sufficient

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challenge to wonder; but this performance was the flower of distinction compared with M. Sarcey's remarks on it. It went hard with him, at any time, to admit that any play of Shakespeare was "*une pièce,*" and, indeed, for his doom of having had, on occasion, to examine several of them in the light of this question, I hold that he was much to be pitied. If I write the name of M. de Voguë in the same neighborhood, it is only that M. de Voguë too is critically eminent, and that I am yet obliged to pass him by. Consummately clever, yet without having created a manner, he is, perhaps, as but one of a number, the best instance of how the most characteristic French aptitude may assert itself even in dull days. The man of genius is always a wonder, but the man of M. de Voguë's particular combination of resources may, perhaps, still more, on occasion, cause the observer to lose himself in meditation. He shows at times as what the observer would, perhaps, himself fain have been. He is, at all events, in especial, the man of the world of his *partie;* he knows many things and has a clear and frequent eloquence and a wonderful easy hand. The hand, assuredly, in France, never fails, and may be seen at the century's end nervously reaching out from the abyss of an intellectual experience, that almost seems at moments to threaten to operate as a shaft sunk too straight. A great curiosity still survives this experience. French critical literature is even now a monument of it, and if the time ever was when the preponderance of inquiry was on our side of the Atlantic and of the Channel, contemporary periodical literature in the opposite quarter has quite reversed the relation. We at present, Americans and English together, push our intellectual feelers with a vivacity by no means proportionate to our own exposure. We seem unlikely to create any successful diversion to our being ourselves understood.

It is distinctly when we come to the novelists—for I must make a long stride over historians, philosophers and poets, sustained by the reflection that the best novelists are all three—that we remain rather persistently more aware of what is gone than of what is left. There is in this quarter, evidently, a distinct chill in the air; there are empty places, gaps into space, the look of a field less occupied. Daudet, so individual and beautiful, died but yesterday; Maupassant, as strong—productively speaking—as a young horse, and with a voice all his own, passed away the day before. Émile Zola, of the elder men, alone remains; with Paul

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Bourget and Pierre Loti and M. Huysmans—with Anatole France, perhaps, too—among the younger; and with MM. Paul Hervieu and Marcel Prévost among the youngest of all. Merely to enumerate these names, however, is to become freshly aware of my inability to take them in turn: the most that, in these conditions, they may help the critic to is some new demonstration, much abbreviated, of the intensity with which, in France, this wondrous form has been worked. At whatever result the serious inquirer might arrive, he would recognize no want of the real energy, the proper passion, in the working of their material by this interesting group. Of the material itself, there would easily be much to say—I cannot help thinking that there *is* much; but there is little that is not obvious to be said of the intelligence and the courage. These remain so great—are capable of giving out, on occasion, such vivid lights and of throwing up such renewals—as to bring back a possibility by no means unfamiliar, I dare say, to any ingenious mind attentive to these things: the apprehension that there may, after all, be some strange and fatal disparity between French talent and French life. That puts the case, no doubt, with a certain breadth; but it may, none the less, represent one of the occasional wonderments of a spectator from a distance. Does French life *support* being worked with the fury—as we may almost say—that the great combination, from Balzac down, have brought to bear on it? Would our bigger Anglo-Saxon life, even? Would any collective life that is now being led on the globe? The Anglo-Saxon world, with the multitude of its practical experiments and the variety of its material habitats, would, perhaps, hold out longest; and I express a fancy that I have sometimes idly entertained when I say, that we alone would have offered a broad enough back to such acute penetration and such consistent irony. The spirit of the French novel at its best, in other words, would have been worthy to plunge into us, and we should have been, as a rich world-people, worthy to be stretched on the table. We should not certainly have been Paris at all—in which there would have been a loss; but we should, on the other hand, not have been Paris only and ever—in which there would have been a gain.

The danger I glance at is, in a word, the danger arising from sameness of subject. There tends too much to be only one—*the* subject, so familiar to us all that this light emphasis suffices to

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identify it. The complications, the perils, that wait on concealed atachments play, it may perfectly be argued, an immense part in life, and a face of proportionate surprise may be offered to any plea that so general and indispensable an element of truth and interest is lightly to be dispensed with. This is a position with which, of course, all suggestion has to reckon; and I may as well say at once that I have no direct remedy to produce. The candid critic is, I even hold, excusable for not being wholly sure that, taking into account the general play of the French imagination, the remedy is quite within reach. It might, none the less, be tried. If I said just now that Flaubert's Emma Bovary is at best the demonstration of a poor case, and that the case would have been bettered if more relations had been shown, so this may, perhaps, serve as a hint of the quarter in which general help lies. Might not, in general, the painter of French life do something towards conjuring away that demon of staleness who hovers very dreadfully, at this time of day, everywhere, I acknowledge, on the horizon of us belated workers, by cultivating just this possibility of the vision of more relations? There *are* others, after all, than those of the eternal triangle of the husband, the wife and the lover, or of that variation of this to which we are too much condemned as an only alternative—the mistress, the first and the second, or the second and the third, the third and the fourth, lovers. What we continue to have, for the most part, is the paraphernalia of concealment—the drama of alarm and exposure; on which, with prodigious ingenuity, all the changes have been rung. Our real satiety lies, however, I think, not even in our familiarity with this range of representation; it lies, at bottom, in our unassuaged thirst for some more constant and more various portrayal of character. It may fairly be said that the French *parti-pris* not only turns too persistent a back on those quarters of life in which character does play, but also—and with still less justice—tends to pervert and minimize the idea of "passion." Passion still abides with us, though its wings have undoubtedly been clipped; the possibility of it is, in the vulgar phrase, all over the place. But it lives a great variety of life, burns with other flames and throbs with other obsessions than the sole sexual. In some of these connections it absolutely *becomes* character; whereas character, on the contrary, encounters in the sexual the particular air, the special erotic fog, that most muffles and dampens it. Closely observed, indeed, the

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erotic drama gives us, for all the prodigious bustle involved, almost never a striking illustration of it. "Passion" crowds it out; but passion is strangely brief, while character, like art itself, as we know, is long. The great Balzac, clearly, had made this reflection when, beating the bush with a cudgel all his own, he started up game of so many different kinds. I know not really if there be a better possible admonition to his successors than to go back to him. It would probably ensue from their doing so, that what I have called their sameness of subject would find itself by the very fact eased off, relieved of the undue strain upon it and enabled to recover some of its lost elasticity.

The reporter free to proceed to particulars would, at any rate, to-day find the superficial space occupied by M. Émile Zola not sensibly shrunken during these dozen years. His competitors have in most cases, come and gone, but M. Zola has solidly stayed. Perhaps this it is that most makes him difficult to dispose of briefly; he is, at one and the same time, so little a genius of the highest distinction and so little a negligible quantity. He would still be magnificent if he had nothing for him but his solidity—in the contemplation of which I should almost luxuriously lose myself were it permitted to me to treat in summary fashion even one side of his work. He is a large enough figure to make us lose time in walking round him for the most convenient view. The question of choice, however, let me hasten to add, finds itself, if the critic happen to be also a member, however subordinate, of the author's own guild, materially simplified—so much more does M. Zola, when it comes to the entertainment a brother-novelist may seek from him, speak of one particular matter than of all the others together. He speaks of the great, plain, measurable matter of method, and his own is the thing that has ended by making him most interesting. So, at least, must one put it for one's self, taking courage to do this even in face of the multitudinous results of an energy extraordinarily "creative." What he has most vividly created, to my sense, is the process that has seen him through. None of M. Zola's heroes stand so squarely on their feet as M. Zola's heroic system; the evolution of none of his heroines has been so unbrokenly patient. There the system is to-day, supremely representing on his behalf the communication of life. We have seen it at work, time after time—seen it more and more a calculated means to an end; and have, surely—if it has engaged

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our curiosity at all—lived with it during these years very greatly to our entertainment, if not to our highest edification. I may not here undertake the business of describing it, and I mention it, indeed, mainly to pay it publicly my respects. For it has been in its way an intellectual lesson. Quite apart from what may be urged to its advantage or its detriment, it has shown, at least, admirably what a method can do. To arrive—as he has arrived—at the goal he began with fixing, M. Zola had to make out his special economy—see it steadily and see it whole. He has seen, moreover, many things besides; not the individual soul, the individual life, perhaps, with any great intimacy—never, indeed, with an inspired penetration; but always, vividly, its happy mean, or general average, of sense; its associated, confounded, scarce discriminated state. He has given us in this way—and the phenomenon is curious enough—an immense deal of life, a big chronicle of tragedy and comedy, action and passion, while giving us, nevertheless, comparatively little consciousness. Once or twice—as in the case of "Rome"—he has, in the absence of subjective saturation, been reduced to method alone; and remarkable enough, no doubt, is the spectacle of what, out of habit and gratitude, method alone has there done to him. This case was curious enough for those who knew. But the horse is not, I take it, to be trusted to repeat the jump.

It is not, certainly, true of M. Paul Bourget that his manner is a compromise founded on any generalization of the consciousness. It involves, on the contrary, a specification, for the individual represented, that is intense and exhaustive. M. Bourget literally *inhabits* the consciousness, as writers of the temperament of M. Zola inhabit the outer world. His relation to it is not that of a visitor for a purpose or of a collector with a note-book; it is that of a resident, of habits so confirmed that he on no pretext whatever can bring himself to stir from home. His travels far and wide are accomplished in that wonderful continuous gallery. It forms for him, as a spectator of life, a large glass cage equipped with wheels, stoves and other conveniences, in which he moves over his field very much as a great American railway-director moves over his favorite line in his "luxuriously-appointed" private car. For the consciousness inhabited by M. Bourget *is* luxuriously appointed. I only regret that it is impossible we should here accompany him on one or two of his journeys. We must use at

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this moment shorter cuts. I so feel that it fairly makes mince-meat of M. Anatole France to throw off a rough estimate of *"L'Orme du Mail"* and *"Le Mannequin d'Osier,"* that I prefer to escape altogether from the question of shades by saying that he is a writer who freshly stirs up one's gratitude to his country, and one's frank recognition of the rich conditions that could produce him. We take him, as we have, first and last, gladly taken Pierre Loti, for a regular happy case. He is, in fine, at this moment, the great luxury of the time; he helps us to resign ourselves to an age that at last cynically confesses itself—in a million volumes—"unliterary." M. Anatole France and his fortune are really the facts that, at the actual hour, most save it. To his own country, in especial, at a juncture when she has need, he renders extraordinary redemptive service; he persists in being what he is—and sells. It makes up for many things that there is still a liberal ear in France for such native notes, still a diffused taste for a mixture so artful. The author of *"L'Anneau d'Amêthyste,"* therefore, does the best thing a good patriot can do—he makes others like to think, in spite of his own strictures upon it, of his public. Who makes anyone like to think of ours?

HENRY JAMES.

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THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY.

BY PROFESSOR J. B. MOORE, FORMERLY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

In his annual message of December 2, 1872, President Grant, referring to the award rendered by the Emperor of Germany in the preceding October upon the long-pending dispute as to the San Juan Water Boundary, remarked that this award left us, "for the first time in the history of the United States as a nation, without a question of disputed boundary between our territory and the possessions of Great Britain on this continent." In making this statement, President Grant was not unmindful of the fact that the boundary between the British possessions and Alaska, as defined in the treaty between Great Britain and Russia of 1825, had not been surveyed and marked. No dispute, however, in regard to this line had then arisen; and, with a view to prevent the occurrence of any in the future, he immediately proceeded to make, in the same message, the following recommendation:

"Experience of the difficulties attending the determination of our admitted line of boundary, after the occupation of the territory and its settlement by those owing allegiance to the respective governments, points to the importance of establishing, by natural objects or other monuments, the actual line between the territory acquired by purchase from Russia and the adjoining possessions of Her Britannic Majesty. The region is now so sparsely occupied that no conflicting interests of individuals or of jurisdiction are likely to interfere to the delay or embarrassment of the actual location of the line. If deferred until population shall enter and occupy the territory, some trivial contest of neighbors may again array the two governments in antagonism. I therefore recommend the appointment of a commission, to act jointly with one that may be appointed on the part of Great Britain, to determine the line between our territory of Alaska and the coterminous possessions of Great Britain."

By correspondence published in the Canadian Sessional Papers, this recommendation appears to have been inspired by

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representations, originating with the government of Canada, and communicated through the British Minister at Washington, as to the desirableness of definitely marking the boundary. No action upon the recommendation was taken; but an estimate then made by United States officials as to the probable cost and duration of the task of surveying and marking the line as laid down in the treaty, placed the cost at about $1,500,000, and the time at nine years for field operations and at least an additional year for office work.

In January, 1886, the Minister of the United States in London, acting under instructions, proposed the appointment of a joint commission, which should designate and establish the boundary line, or else report such *data* as might afford a basis for its establishment by a new treaty. The Dominion Government, to whom this proposal was referred, expressed the opinion that a preliminary survey was "preferable to a formally-constituted joint commission," and suggested that such a survey "would enable the two governments to establish a satisfactory basis for the delimitation of the boundary and demonstrate whether the conditions of the convention of 1825 are applicable to the now more or less known features of the country."

Early in 1888 several informal conferences were held in Washington between Prof. W. H. Dall, of the United States Geological Survey, and Dr. George M. Dawson, of Canada, for the purpose of discussing the boundary and elucidating, so far as the information then in existence enabled them to do, the questions which might be involved in it. The result of these conferences was communicated to Congress.

A further step was taken in the convention between the United States and Great Britain of July 22, 1892, by which it was agreed that a coincident or joint survey should be made "with a view to ascertainment of the facts and *data* necessary to the permanent delimitation of the said boundary line in accordance with the spirit and intent of the existing treaties in regard to it between Great Britain and Russia and between the United States and Russia." The time for the report of the commissioners under this stipulation was extended by the supplemental convention of February 3, 1894, to December 31, 1895. Joint surveys and a joint report were made, but no recommendations as to the boundary.

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By the protocol of May, 1898, it was agreed that the joint international commission to be organized thereunder should endeavor to adopt "provisions for the delimitation and establishment of the Alaska-Canadian boundary by legal and scientific experts if the commission shall so decide, or otherwise." Under this clause, it is understood that the commission has failed to reach an agreement, and the question still remains open. It is our purpose to disclose, in general outlines, in what the dispute consists.

By a ukase dated July 8, 1799, the Emperor Paul I., of Russia, having in view the benefits resulting to his empire from the hunting and trading carried on by Russian subjects "in the northeastern seas and along the coasts of America," conceded to the Russian-American Company the right to "have the use of all hunting grounds and establishments now [then] existing on the northeastern (*sic*) coast of America, from the . . . fifty-fifth degree [of north latitude] to Bering Strait," as well as the right "to make new discoveries not only north of the fifty-fifth degree," but farther to the south, and "to occupy the new lands discovered, as Russian possessions," if they were not previously occupied by or dependent upon another nation.

Still further privileges were granted to the Russian-American Company by the famous ukase issued by the Emperor Alexander, September 7, 1821, by which the pursuit of commerce, whaling and fishing, and of all other industry, on all islands, ports and gulfs, "including the whole of the northwest coast of America, beginning from Bering Strait to the fifty-first degree of northern latitude," was exclusively granted to Russian subjects, and foreign vessels, except in case of distress, were forbidden "not only to land on the coasts and islands belonging to Russia, as stated above, but also to approach them within less than 100 Italian miles."

This extension by Russia of her claim of dominion on the northwest coast of America from the fifty-fifth parallel of north latitude down to the fifty-first, coupled with the new claim of exclusive marine jurisdiction of 100 Italian miles along the coast, called forth protests both from the United States and from Great Britain. Both these powers claimed territory north of the fifty-first parallel, as well as the right freely to navigate the ocean and to fish and trade with the natives on unoccupied coasts. Russia met their protests with an offer of negotiation.

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This offer was accepted. In the negotiations which ensued, Russia was represented by Count Nesselrode, minister for foreign affairs, and M. Poletica. Great Britain was represented first by Sir Charles Bagot, and then by Stratford Canning; the United States, by Henry Middleton. The United States and Great Britain at one time entertained the intention of acting jointly, but, finding that their territorial claims were to some extent conflicting, they carried on their negotiations with Russia separately.

The negotiations between the United States and Russia ended in a convention, signed at St. Petersburg, April 17, 1824, which will hereafter be referred to as the convention of 1824. As to the territorial question, it was agreed that no establishment should be formed by the United States on the northwest coast *north* of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes north latitude, nor by Russia *south* of that parallel. As to navigation, fishing, and trading, the right of navigation and of fishing in the Pacific Ocean was acknowledged unqualifiedly and in perpetuity; and it was agreed that during a term of ten years the ships of both powers might frequent "the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks upon the coast" in question, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives. No resort, however, was to be made by citizens of the United States to any point where there was a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor; and a reciprocal rule was to be observed by Russian subjects as to United States establishments. From the commerce permitted by the convention, firearms and liquors were excluded.

So far as dominion was concerned, the practical effect of this treaty was to leave it to Great Britain and Russia to divide the territory north of fifty-four degrees forty minutes, and to the United States and Great Britain to divide that to the south.

Great Britain and Russia settled their maritime and territorial differences by a convention signed at St. Petersburg on February 28, 1825, which will hereafter be referred to as the convention of 1825. This convention defines, in Articles III. and IV., the boundary between Alaska and the British possessions as it exists to-day. The treaty of 1867, ceding Alaska to the United States, describes the eastern limits of the cession by incorporating the definition given in the convention of 1825. This convention was signed only in French, which is therefore the official text; but there accompanies it, in the British publications, an English

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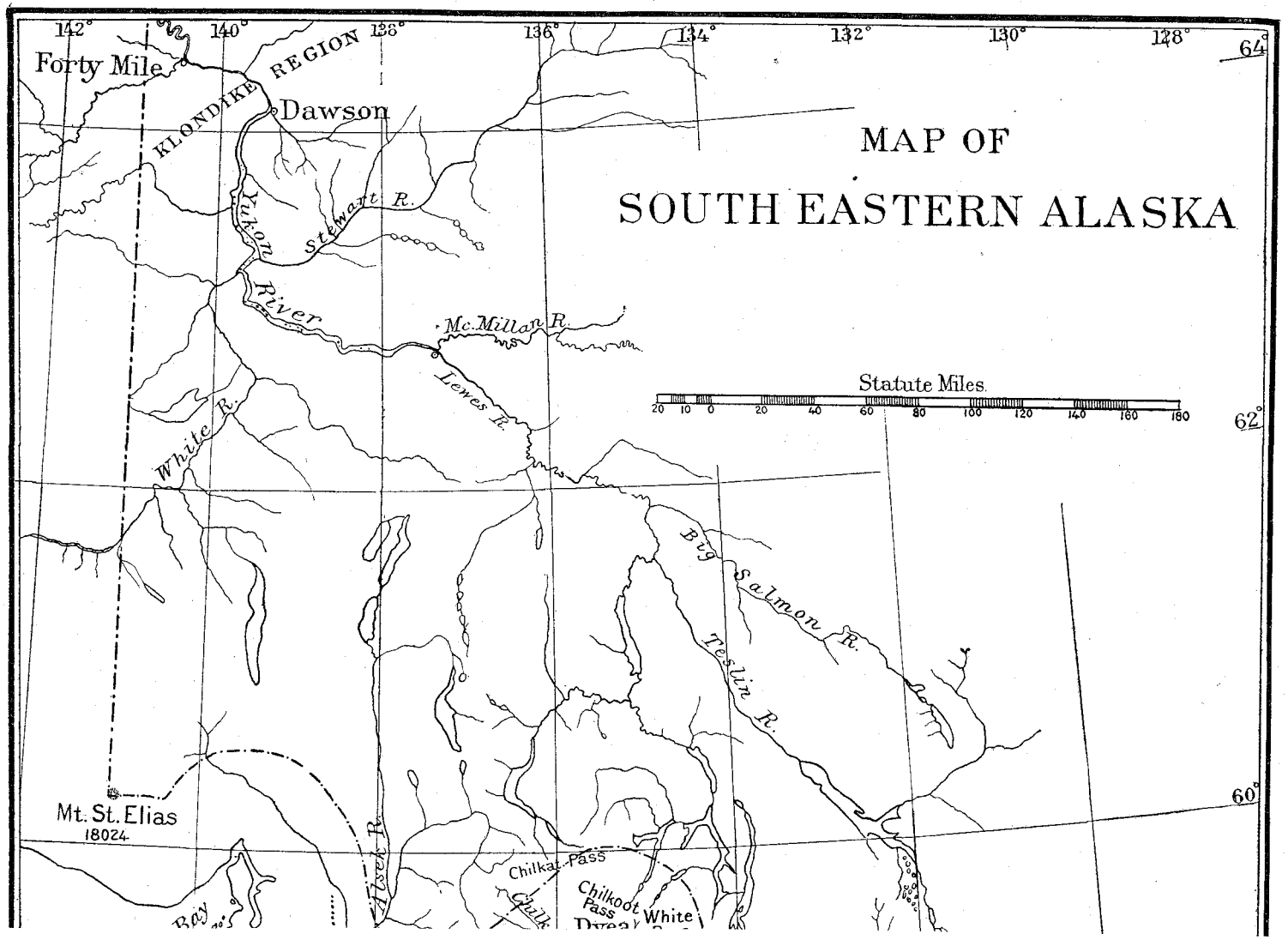

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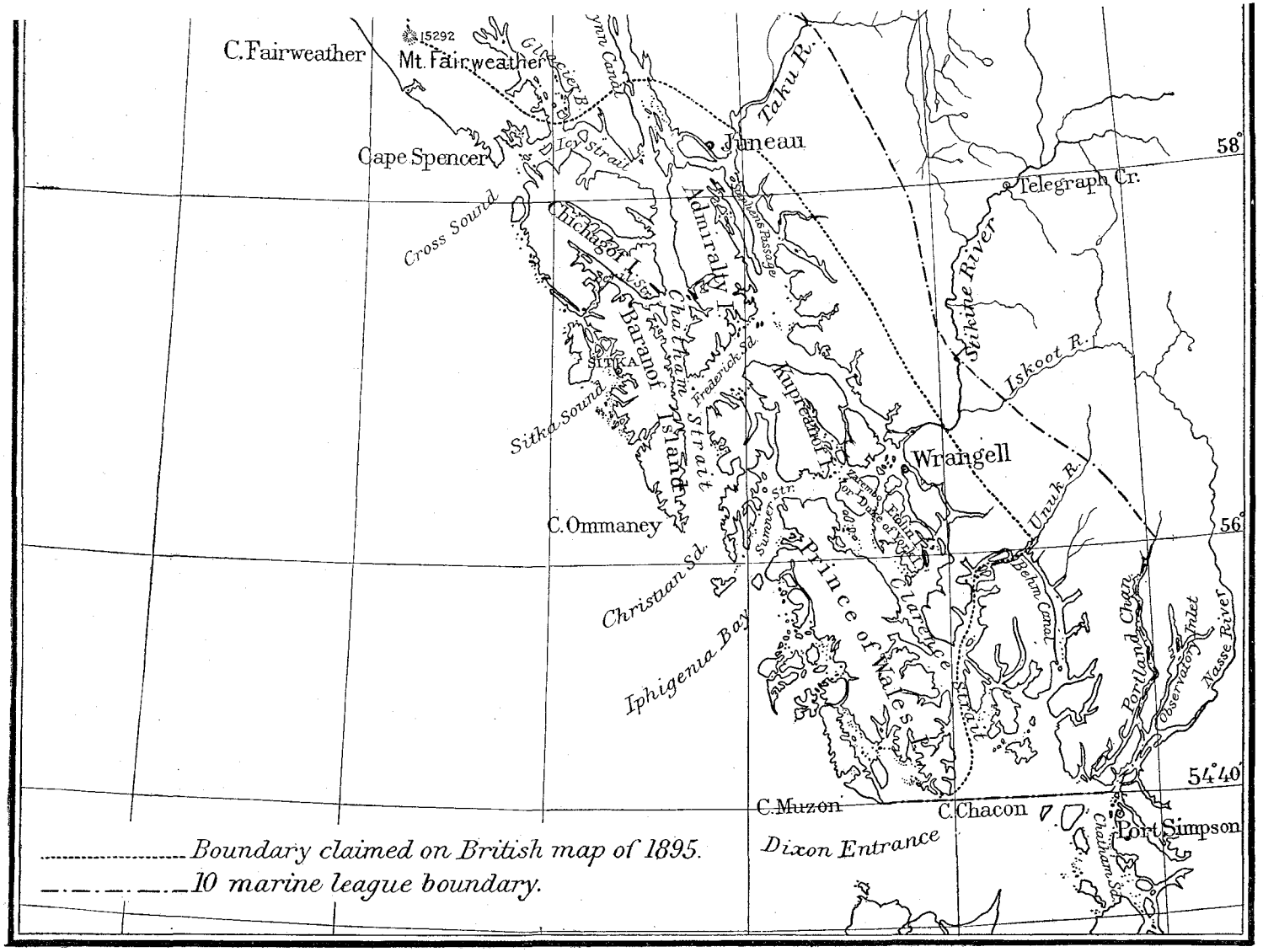

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"translation," which in the main fairly reproduces the original. These texts, so far as they relate to the boundary, are as follows:

"*III. La ligne de démarcation entre les Possessions des Hautes Parties Contractantes sur la Côte du Continent et les Iles de l'Amérique Nord Ouest, sera tracée ainsi qu' il suit:—*

"*A partir du Point le plus méridional de l'Ile dite Prince of Wales, lequel Point se trouve sous la parallèle du 54me degré 40 minutes de latitude Nord, et entre le 131me et le 133me degré de longitude Ouest (Méridien de Greenwich), la dite ligne remontera au Nord le long de la passe dite Portland Channel, jusqu 'au Point de la terre ferme où elle atteint le 56me degré de latitude Nord: de ce dernier point la ligne de démarcation suivra la crête des montagnes situées parallèlement à la Côte, jusqu 'au point d' intersection du 141me degré de longitude Ouest (même Méridien); et, finalement, du dit point d' intersection, la même ligne méridienne du 141me degré formera, dans son prolongement jusqu'à la mer Glaciale, la limite entre les Possessions Russes et Britanniques sur le Continent de l' Amérique Nord Ouest.*

"*IV. Il est entendu, par rapport à la ligne de démarcation déterminée dans l' Article précédent:*

"*1. Que l'Ile dite Prince of Wales appartiendra toute entière à La Russie:*

"*2. Que partout où la crête des montagnes qui s' étendent dans une direction parallèle à la Côte depuis le 56me degré de latitude Nord au point d' intersection du 141me degré de longitude Ouest, se trouveroit à*

"III. The line of demarcation between the Possessions of the High Contracting Parties upon the Coast of the Continent and the Islands of America to the North-West, shall be drawn in the following manner:

"Commencing from the southernmost point of the Island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, North Latitude, and between the 131st and 133d Degree of West Longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the North along the Channel called Portland Channel, as far as the Point of the Continent where it strikes the 56th Degree of North Latitude; from this last mentioned Point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st Degree of West Longitude (of the same Meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said Meridian Line of the 141st Degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British Possessions on the Continent of America to the North West.

"IV. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding Article, it is understood:

"1st. That the Island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

"2d. That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the Coast, from the 56th degree of North Latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of West

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la distance de plus de dix lieues marines de l' Océan, la limite entre les Possessions Britanniques et la lisière de Côte mentionnée ci-dessus comme devant appartenir à La Russie, sera formée par une ligne parallèle aux sinuosités de la Côte, et qui ne pourra jamais en être éloignée que de dix lieues marines."

Longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the Ocean, the limit between the British Possessions and the line of Coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the Coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

It was further provided (Art. V.) that neither party should form establishments within the limits thus assigned to the other, and, specifically, that British subjects should not form any establishment, "either upon the coast, or upon the border of the continent (*soit sur la côte, soit sur la lisière de terre ferme*) comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions."

As to navigating, fishing, and trading, the convention of 1825 included substantially the same provisions as that of 1824. The right of navigation and of fishing in the Pacific Ocean was acknowledged. For the space of ten years, the ships of the two powers were to be at liberty to frequent "the inland Seas, the Gulfs, Havens, and Creeks on the Coast" in question. Permission to land at points where there were establishments was to be obtained from the governor. Trade with the natives in firearms and liquors was prohibited. Besides these stipulations, it was agreed (Art. VI.) that British subjects, whether arriving from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, should "forever enjoy the right of navigating freely . . . all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in Article III. of the present convention;" and that, for the space of ten years, the port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, should be "open to the Commerce and Vessels of British subjects."

An examination of the boundary defined in Articles III. and IV. of the convention of 1825 shows that it is scientifically divisible into two distinct sections, first, the line from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, through Portland Channel and along the summit of the mountains parallel to the coast, to the point of intersection of the 141st meridian of longitude; and, second, the line from this point to the Arctic Ocean. With the latter section, which is merely a meridian line, and as to which

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the United States and Canadian surveys exhibit no considerable difference, we are not now concerned. The section as to which material differences have arisen is the first.

The principal differences in this quarter are two in number, first, as to what channel is meant by Portland Channel (sometimes called Portland Canal); and, second, as to what is the extent of the line or strip of coast (*la lisière de côte*) which was assigned to Russia. The latter difference, since it is the more complicated, we will consider first.

As has been seen, the easterly limit of the *lisière*, from the point where the line strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, was to follow "the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast," except that, where this summit should prove to be more than ten marine leagues, or thirty miles, from the ocean, the limit was to be formed "by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom." On the part of Canada two theories as to this line have been advanced, (1.) that it should follow, not the actual windings (*sinuosités*) but the general trend, of the coast, so as to intersect or cross the headlands of some of the bays and inlets, especially in the Lynn Canal, and give Great Britain one or more ports on tide water; and (2.) that the coast whose windings are to be followed is not the shore of the mainland, but that of the adjacent islands, bordering on the ocean.* The United States, on the other hand, has maintained that the coast whose windings were to be followed was the coast of the mainland, the design of the convention being to give to Russia the control of the whole of the shore of the mainland, and of the islands, bays, gulfs, and inlets, adjacent thereto. In other words, Russia was to have exclusive dominion of tide water and of a continuous strip of territory bordering upon it, while Great Britain was to have the interior country, with a right of free navigation of streams crossing the Russian territory on their way to the sea.

That this was the design of the convention may be shown, first, by the record of its negotiation.

The principal object on the part of Great Britain was to obtain the withdrawal by Russia of the claim made in the ukase of

* On the sketch map accompanying this article, the Canadian claim is given as shown on the "Map of the Province of British Columbia, compiled by direction of Hon. G. B. Martin, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Victoria, B. C., 1895." This claim would give Dyea, Skaguay, Pyramid Harbor, and various other points, and a long stretch of tidewater, to Canada.

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1821 to exclusive jurisdiction over the Pacific Ocean, a claim which involved the right to navigate a vast extent of ocean and, incidentally, the right of passage from the Pacific to the Arctic Ocean through Bering Straits. "It is *not* on our part," declared George Canning, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "essentially a negotiation of limits. It is a demand of the repeal of an offensive and unjustifiable arrogation of exclusive jurisdiction over an ocean of unmeasured extent." With a view to facilitate the withdrawal of this pretension, Great Britain proposed a settlement of limits.* The actual geographical features of the territory were, to a great extent, unknown. Vancouver had navigated and charted the coast, but the interior was unexplored. Back from the shore high mountains were visible, and, after the manner of the early geographers, he drew artistic ranges which follow the windings of the coast, making a continuous barrier between the coast of the mainland and the interior country. It was well known, however, to the negotiators of the convention of 1825, that the mountain ranges might be broken, or that, instead of following closely the windings of the coast, they might extend far inland. Instead, therefore, of attending to geographical details, they adopted general rules, which should be applied whenever the line came to be actually marked.

In settling the limits along the coast, the two governments were largely guided by the interests and the representations of certain commercial companies—on the part of Russia, the Russian-American Company, and, on the part of Great Britain, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies—which hunted and traded with natives for furs. The fur trade was then the principal object of value in the estimation of the worth of the regions in question. The British companies, however, had no establishment on the coast now under consideration. Their operations in that quarter were conducted in the interior, and their furs were sent to England through their own territories, and not across the coast involved in the negotiation.

The first definite proposition as to limits was made by Great Britain to Russia in the autumn of 1823. Sir Charles Bagot, then British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was instructed to propose a line drawn east and west along the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude. He went somewhat further, and suggested that Great

*G. Canning to Stratford Canning, December 8, 1824.

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Britain would "be satisfied to take Cross Sound, lying about the latitude of fifty-seven degrees thirty minutes, as the boundary between the two powers on the coast; and a meridian line drawn from the head of Lynn Canal, as it is laid down in Arrowsmith's last map, . . . as the boundary in the interior of the continent." This suggestion was not accepted, and subsequently, acting under instructions, he proposed "a line drawn through Chatham Straits to the head of Lynn Canal, thence northwest to the 140th degree of longitude west of Greenwich, and thence along that degree of longitude to the Polar Sea."

The Russian plenipotentiaries rejected this proposal and submitted a counter-project. By the ukase of 1799, the Russian dominion was assumed to extend to the southward as far as the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude. The Russian plenipotentiaries therefore offered to adhere to this limit, with a deflection at the southern extremity of Prince of Wales Island so as to avoid a division of territory, and, for the rest, proposed that the line should "follow Portland Channel up to the mountains which border the coast," thence "ascend along those mountains, parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, as far as the 139th degree of longitude (meridian of London)," and then pursue that meridian indefinitely to the north.

The reasons of the two governments for their respective proposals were fully explained by them. In the early stages of the negotiation the Russian plenipotentiaries intimated that they would require the fifty-fifth degree of latitude as their southern boundary. In his instructions to Sir C. Bagot, of January 15, 1824, Mr. George Canning, adverting to the fact that no limit was suggested by the Russian plenipotentiaries to the eastern extension of the parallel, declared that it was essential to guard against the "unfounded pretensions" of Russia in that direction, and for that purpose, whatever the degree of latitude assumed, to assign a definite meridian of longitude as a limit. The 135th meridian northward from the head of "Lynn's Harbor" might suffice. As to "*the mainland southward* of that point," it would be expedient to assign "a limit, say of 50 or 100 miles from the coast, beyond which the Russian posts should not be extended to the eastward. We must not," he continued, "on any account admit the Russian territory to extend at any point to the Rocky Mountains. By such an admission we should establish a direct

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and complete interruption between our territory to the southward of that point and that of which we are in possession to the eastward of longitude 135 degrees along the course of the Mackenzie River."

The Russian plenipotentiaries explained their object with equal clearness. In a memorandum accompanying their counter-proposal they said: "The principal motive which constrains Russia to insist upon sovereignty over the above-indicated strip of territory (*lisière*) upon the mainland (*terre ferme*) from the Portland Channel to the point of intersection of the sixtieth degree [latitude] with the 139th degree of longitude, is that, deprived of this territory, the Russian-American Company would have no means of sustaining its establishments, which would then be without any support (*point d'appui*) and could have no solidity." If Great Britain would accept the line proposed by them, the Russian plenipotentiaries declared that their government would grant to British subjects "the free navigation of all the rivers which empty into the ocean through the said *lisière*," and open the port of Novo Archangelsk to their trade and vessels.

To this counter-proposal Sir C. Bagot objected that it "would deprive His Britannic Majesty of sovereignty over all the inlets and small bays lying between latitudes fifty-six degrees and fifty-four degrees forty-five minutes, whereof several (as there is every reason to believe) communicate directly with the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company and are consequently of essential importance to its commerce." He offered, however, to accept a line traced from the west toward the east "along the middle of the channel which separates Prince of Wales and Duke of York islands from all the islands situated to the north of the said islands until it touches the mainland." Subsequently he modified this offer by proposing that the line be drawn "from the southern extremity of the strait called 'Duke of Clarence's Sound,' through the middle of this strait to the middle of the strait which separates Prince of Wales and Duke of York islands" from the islands to the north, and thence eastwardly to the mainland, thus giving Prince of Wales Island to Russia.

These proposals the Russian plenipotentiaries declined. They declared that "the possession of Prince of Wales Island without a slice (*portion*) of territory upon the coast situated in front of that island could be of no utility whatever to Russia," since any estab-

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lishment founded upon it would then "find itself, as it were, flanked by the English establishments on the mainland and completely at the mercy of the latter." They adhered to Portland Channel; but, as to the eastern boundary of the *lisière*, they offered to extend it "along the mountains which follow the sinuosities of the coast as far as Mount Elias," and then to run the line along the 140th meridian of longitude instead of the 139th. Said Count Nesselrode, in an instruction to Count Lieven, Russian Ambassador at London, April 17, 1824:

> "This proposal will assure to us merely a narrow strip of territory (*lisière*) upon the coast itself, and will leave the English establishments all needful room for increase and extension. . . . We limit our demands to a mere strip of the continent, and . . . we guarantee the free navigation of the rivers and announce the opening of the port of Novo Archangelsk. Russia cannot stretch her concessions further. She will make no others. . . . It cannot be reiterated with sufficient positiveness that, according to the most recent charts, England possesses no establishment either up to the latitude of Portland Channel or on the shore of the ocean itself; and Russia, when she insists on preserving a moderate expanse of the mainland (*terre ferme*) only insists in reality upon the means of utilizing—we might better say of not losing—the surrounding islands."

The British cabinet, with the concurrence of the Hudson's Bay Company, decided to accept the Russian proposal, with a limitation of the distance from the coast at which the line along the mountains should run, and the selection of a meridian of longitude north of Mount St. Elias farther to the west than the 140th. In this way Russia would secure her strip of territory on the mainland and Great Britain prevent the intersection of her interior possessions and communications. Great Britain accordingly proposed that the line should ascend northerly along Portland Channel "till it strikes the coast of the continent lying in the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude," and that it should thence be carried "along the coast, in a direction parallel to its windings, and at or within the seaward base of the mountains by which it is bounded," provided that it should not extend more than a certain number of marine leagues inland, whatever the distance of the mountains might be. Experience had shown, said the British Government, that mountains which were assumed as lines of boundary were sometimes incorrectly laid down, and that it was "therefore necessary that some other security should be taken that the line of demarcation to be drawn parallel with the coast, as far as Mount St.

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Elias, is not carried too far inland." It might be limited to ten leagues or less.*

The Russian Government, in response to the last British proposition, proposed that the *lisière*, instead of being bounded by the summit of the mountains, except where it exceeded a certain distance from the coast, should "not be wider on the continent than ten marine leagues from the shore of the sea." In other words, Russia wanted either the crest of the mountains, or else a line ten leagues from the coast, as the boundary all the way. Great Britain objected to this as a withdrawal of the limit of the *lisière* which the Russians were themselves the first to propose, viz., "the summit of the mountains which run parallel to the coast, and which appear, according to the map, to follow all its sinuosities, and to substitute generally that which we only suggested as a connection of their first proposition."† Accordingly, Mr. Stratford Canning, who had lately been appointed a plenipotentiary to conclude the convention, proposed that the line should follow "the crest of the mountains, in a direction parallel to the coast," but that, if the crest should be found anywhere to be more than ten leagues from the sea, the boundary should there be "a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, so that the line of demarcation shall not be anywhere more than ten leagues from the coast."

This proposal was accepted as a compromise, and the treaty was drawn up and signed in conformity with it. Until a recent period the line, as it was then understood by both governments, remained unquestioned. It appeared on all the maps, including those published in England, as the United States now maintains it, following the sinuosities of the coast and running around the heads of the inlets, including the Lynn Canal, and giving to Russia an unbroken strip of the mainland up to Mount St. Elias.

But more significant, perhaps, than any map, is the fact that the greater part of the strip of mainland in question was for many years after 1839 leased, at an annual rental, by the Hudson's Bay

*G. Canning to Sir C. Bagot, July 12, 1824. Were there room for doubt as to what these proposals and counter-proposals meant, it might be worth while specially to note the phase, "seaward base of the mountains," as well as the suggestion made by the British Government that no forts should be established or fortifications erected by either party "on the summit or in the passes of the mountains," in case the boundary should follow their summit and not their seaward base. (G. Canning to Sir C. Bagot, July 24, 1824.) Both these phrases obviously referred to mountains on the mainland.

†G. Canning to S. Canning, December 8, 1824.

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Company. The lease embraced the coast (exclusive of islands) and the interior country belonging to Russia, situated between Cape Spencer, on Cross Sound, and latitude fifty-four degrees forty minutes or thereabout, including "the whole mainland coast and interior country belonging to Russia," eastward and southward of an imaginary line drawn from Cape Spencer to Mount Fairweather. By an agreement between the Hudson's Bay and Russian-American companies, which received the sanction of both governments, this strip of territory was exempted from molestation during the Crimean War.*

As to the southern limit of the strip in question, a line through Portland Channel, as now maintained by the United States, continued to be the uncontested boundary till about 1873, when Canadian writers began to suggest that the line should run through Behm Canal, or by some other way than Portland Channel, (1.) because, while the line is required by the treaty to "ascend to the north" from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, it must first run to the east in order to enter Portland Channel, and (2.) because the head of Portland Channel does not reach the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude. These suggestions, besides disregarding the historical and geographical evidence, including that of the British Admiralty charts, presuppose a minuteness and accuracy of description which the negotiators did not essay. When the line, commencing at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, was required to "ascend to the north" till it should strike the fifty-sixth degree on the continent, the general direction and objective of the boundary obviously was intended to be given. This has not been uncommon in descriptions of boundary. An actual due north line from the point in question would have cut the island. Nor is the argument from a hiatus between the head of Portland Channel and the fifty-sixth degree any stronger. The "line," after ascending "Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude," is required from "this last-mentioned point" to follow "the summit of the mountains." If this was in-

*Sir George Simpson, Governor of Hudson's Bay Territory and a director of Hudson's Bay Company, in his account of a trip around the world (Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1847, Part 1, p. 124), referring to the lease said: "Russia, as the reader is of course aware, possesses on the mainland between latitude fifty-four degrees forty minutes and latitude sixty degrees only a strip, never exceeding thirty miles in depth; and this strip, in the absence of such an arrangement as has just been mentioned (the aforesaid lease), renders the interior comparatively useless to England."

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tended as a complete description, covering every foot or mile of the boundary, and if the "it" of the treaty was intended to refer to the channel and not to the line, then Portland Channel evidently was supposed to have performed the remarkable feat of climbing to the summit of the mountains. But, obviously, it was the "line" which was to "strike" the fifty-sixth parallel and reach the summit of the mountains.

The drawing of the line through Portland Channel, whose outlet into the sea appeared on the map in the same latitude as the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, was part of the plan of allowing to Russia, in return for her abandonment of abnormal jurisdictional claims and her concessions in respect of trade, a strip of territory on the mainland as a barrier between her islands and the British possessions in the interior. We have seen how the representatives of Great Britain successively proposed as the southern boundary the line of fifty-seven degrees thirty minutes, then a line through "Chatham Straits to the head of Lynn Canal," then a line drawn from west to east "through the middle of the channel which separates the islands of Prince of Wales and Duke of York from all the islands to the north" till it should touch the mainland, and then a line drawn northward through Clarence Strait and thence eastward to the mainland through the strait separating Prince of Wales and Duke of York islands from the islands to the north; and how they finally accepted the line through Portland Channel, on which Russia, for the purpose of preserving for her islands a protective barrier on the coast of the mainland, had firmly and finally insisted.

But, while we have shown how the general principles of the boundary were settled, it yet remains to adjust the line and mark it. For this purpose it is conceded that something more than the general descriptions of the treaty is requisite. To meet this defect, various plans have been suggested, and there may be room for the adjustment of common interests. The discovery of gold in the Klondike region has intensified the desire of Canada for an outlet on Lynn Canal. This desire, if considered upon grounds of mutual interest and convenience, rather than of treaty right, is worthy of attention, since the coast must profit by the development of the interior. It has been suggested that a lease be granted of a narrow strip of land in that quarter, as an outlet on the sea. The same object might, perhaps, be attained by assimilating one

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or more of the portages, for instance, that by way of the Chilkoot pass, the principal Klondike route, to a stream of water and treating it as an international highway. By Article II. of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, it was stipulated that "all the water communications and all the usual portages along the line [of boundary] from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, and also Grand Portage, from the shore of Lake Superior to the Pigeon River, as now actually used, shall be free and open to the use of the citizens and subjects of both countries." But, whatever the plan that may be adopted, it is obvious that, if the end can be attained without the sacrifice of clear national rights, the boundary should not be left unsettled, but should, in the interest of trade and industry, of the administration of justice, and of international amity, be finally adjusted and marked.

J. B. MOORE.

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SOME SOCIAL TENDENCIES IN AMERICA.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND H. C. POTTER, D D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

THE historian of the future will find an interesting task in tracing, within what has practically been a single century, the rise and growth of two great republics, the French and our own. The former may be said to have been born in 1789, and the latter in 1783; and, though the history of the former was obscured and apparently terminated by the recurrence of periods of imperialism, yet with the year 1848 the republican form of government re-established itself, and with a brief interval, represented by the pyrotechnics of Napoleon the Third, has persisted until this hour.

Such a study would become naturally, first of all, a study of origins; and, from this point of view, its contrasts would be both interesting and dramatic. When one takes the French *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, and puts it beside our own Declaration of Independence, it is, indeed, first of all, the resemblances rather than the contrasts that impress us. The charter of the French Revolution affirmed:

(1.) That all men are born and continue free and equal in rights;

(2.) That Society is an association of men to preserve the natural rights of men;

(3.) That sovereignty resides in the nation, and that all authority, whether vested in an individual or in a body of men, comes expressly from the nation;

(4.) That liberty is the power of doing what we will, so long as it does not injure another; the only limits of each man's natural rights being such as secure the same rights to others; these

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limits being determinable only by the law, and not by the "divine rights" of anybody;

(5.) That the law can forbid only such actions as are mischievous to society, and that *quod lex non vetat permittit* (what the law does not forbid, it permits);

(6.) That all citizens have a right to take part through their representatives in the making of the laws;

(7.) That freedom of speech, of writing and printing (save in cases reserved by the law), is one of the most precious rights of man, etc.

Here it will be seen that the French *Déclaration des Droits* was much more explicit than our own, but, equally, that our Declaration, by its forms of protest, carried with it the same claims, the same original conceptions of the rights of a citizen, and the same distinct repudiations of those older forms of government which were absolutist, paternal, or monarchical in their character.

And yet, if one had gone to Paris, and thence to Boston or Philadelphia, toward the close of the last century, he could not easily have found more marked contrasts than these communities, on different sides of the Atlantic, presented. The early Puritanism of New England, the Reformation spirit as it came from Holland to New York, and the earlier Quakerism of Philadelphia had, indeed, already begun to experience the effects of those modifying influences which, since then, have so largely obliterated many of their most distinctive characteristics; but, in each case, the ideas of the fathers survived, and the earlier traditions and manners widely ruled. Nothing more unlike them, whether in the city of Penn or in the city of Cotton Mather, could easily have been found than the beliefs, the traditions, the license of that gay Parisian capital, which, since then, has had so much to do with forming the manners and modifying the social and moral standards of the rest of the civilized world. The French people demanded a republic as the one form of relief from the wanton wastefulness, the personal corruptness, the cruel exactions of princes, nobles and ecclesiastics, whose lives were even a greater offence than their feudal claims and their aristocratic indifference. The Americans demanded a republic, though from the beginning they had known nothing else than the most severe colonial simplicity, and though, with many of them, the contention was rather for a principle than for the transformation of a condition.

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In France, there were great social extremes, great prodigality and luxury on the one hand, and great poverty and hardship on the other. In America, there was neither extreme luxury nor extreme want, neither great wealth nor great poverty. And while in France there was the heroism of a fine indifference to suffering, if it could purchase freedom, in America there was something more and higher, in those great moral aspirations which were more concerned with a great opportunity for the realization of a lofty ideal of government and citizenship, than with any mere impatience of the intolerable character of existing conditions.

As one saw them then, the situations seemed to be so unlike, that any considerable resemblance in their history and development appeared to be altogether improbable.

And yet, as a matter of fact, as one looks to-day at France and America, unlike as they are in so many of their national characteristics, the tendencies which have in them elements that are mischievous and alarming are substantially the same. I shall not attempt to trace them in the history of our sister Republic; it will be sufficient for my present purpose if we take some note of them in our own.

I. First among them, I would name what I may call the gradual alteration of the standard of values. A clever foreigner not long ago remarked, after discussing our national incertitude as to a permanent standard in the matter of commercial exchanges, that it seemed to him an image of something that underran our whole theory of life and modes of conduct. "In other words," he observed, "I find among different classes and sections such varying measurements of what, for instance, is personal excellence. Among educated and civilized peoples, ordinarily, there is a very strong conception of what is national, personal, social justice and honor; but in America this conception seems to me a shifting quantity, having one character and certain definite elements in one community or individual, and in others quite another." The criticism has in it, undoubtedly, the note of exaggeration which is usually characteristic of the judgment of foreigners; but it is certainly worth while to ask whether there is not enough of truth in it to furnish food for serious reflection. It cannot be denied that the earlier pages of the history of the Republic were disfigured by greed, unscrupulousness and chicanery, both in public and private life, and I have no mind to chal-

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lenge the statement of the writer who, in the pages of an English periodical, not long ago, recalled how, on one occasion in our early history, "Gouverneur Morris was sitting over the polished mahogany at Bedford with John Jay, when he suddenly ejaculated, through clouds of smoke: 'Jay, what a set of d——d scoundrels we had in that Second Congress!' 'Yes,' said Jay, 'that we had,' and he knocked the ashes from his pipe."

But I am very confident that no one who knows our earlier American history will pretend that such a tone or such incidents were generally descriptive of it. It may indeed be urged that the conditions in those earlier days were different, and they were. Society was more homogeneous then; and the competitions of life were certainly not so sharp and strenuous as they are to-day. But the very fact that to-day we are wont to speak of a certain type of business or professional man as almost an extinct species, has in it a significance of which we cannot afford to lose sight. What was that type? It was that of one to whom a nice sense of integrity, a fine scruple in a business or professional transaction was so instinctive a thing, that it would not have been possible to conceive of the individual without it. But it must be owned, I think, that to-day that type of man is ordinarily referred to as slow, antiquated, a "back number," or by some other more or less polite periphrasis by which we indicate a certain remoteness and inadequacy, so far as the tasks and transactions of our modern life are concerned. We are all, theoretically, in favor of honest dealing and a nice scruple; but, in the enterprises which make our most conspicuous successes, in the financial schemes that illustrate our cleverest achievements, what we look for is not so much these, as that adroitness that takes advantage of an opportunity, and that shrewd far-reaching which, if it be not overreaching, consists, often, largely in taking advantage of another's ignorance. In the great industrial and financial combinations which are the especial feature of our day, it must be admitted that it is the gain of a few, and not the equities of the many, which are chiefly kept in view.

And so it is in connection with the public service, and the qualities which may justly be demanded of those who are appointed to it. It must be owned that in our political history the standard, here, has not from the beginning been fixed in accordance with the highest conception of those standards; and this,

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since we know what were the standards of the mother country when the Republic came into existence, is not surprising. In an admirable paper on "Imperialism and the Civil Service,"* Professor G. E. Howard has lately pointed out how slowly, in connection with the acquisition of her colonial possessions, England ascended to the idea of an honest and competent civil service. But it is to be remembered that England had had no such object-lessons as we have had from the beginning, in connection with a system which, with the recurrence of every presidential election, has practically made of every office in the land a spoil. That our doctrine that "to the victor belong the spoils" has given us neither capability nor efficiency, and that its glaring defects have been before our eyes for more than a hundred years, ought, one would think, to be a reason for admitting that a better and a purer system is indispensable in the interests of public business and of the public integrity. It is doubtless true that the enemies of Civil Service reform are in the minority, or else we should not have secured so much of it from Congress as we have already obtained. But that the public sentiment in the matter is a strong and resolute one, that attacks upon the principles and the administration of Civil Service reform are likely to awaken, as they ought to awaken, wide-spread resentment and resistance, this is so little evident that those attacks do not cease, and that, even in very high places, they have lately had the encouragement of a quasi-endorsement if not approval.

It is the existence of facts such as these that, in connection with an estimate of our present social tendencies may well give us pause. Society, if it is to be something more than a breed of predatory animals preying upon one another, must be based upon certain established principles of mutual honesty; and if a people whose boast is their progress along the pathways of a higher civilization expect to vindicate that claim, it must be by demonstrating that, in their dealings with one another and the world, they are dominated by a sentiment of incorruptible integrity.

II. But, to advance a step higher, what shall we say of those social relations which, as compared with those of business and the state, are so much closer and more intimate? There is one of these which, in one sense, stands at the centre of our whole so-

* *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1899. pp. 240-250.

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cial system, and which has, in the progress of human society out of the brutalities of its lower barbarisms, been its distinguishing note. I mean the institution of marriage. Some recent features of our social history may well awaken in even the most unreflecting among us, in this connection, profound anxiety; and, if they do not, sooner or later, bring to pass throughout the land some strenuous movement of legal and moral reform, are surely prophetic of the most deplorable consequences.

For, when we come to trace the rise of great peoples, we are constrained to recognize that marriage, its sanctity, its indissolubility, its very intimate and sacred relations to that oldest and most sacred institution, the family, is one of the earliest concerns of the moral teacher and of the law-making power. If we go back in this matter to the history of beginnings, we at once discover, in the story of the Roman Empire, how soon, in contrast with those merely tribal associations of Greece and India, and other relatively more advanced peoples, the idea of the family, the laws of its constitution, the guardianship of its traditions, the maintenance of its rights, grew up; and how closely all these were connected with, and, indeed, sprang from, the idea of the sacredness of marriage, the sanctity of which in later ages, and in Christian communities as a Sacrament, found its prototype in that striking religious ceremony in which, before ten witnesses (wise provision, which our modern law might wisely imitate!) an ox was sacrificed, and a wheaten cake broken and divided between the spouses by the priest. Under these provisions, also, the consent of the *paterfamilias* was essential, and the restrictions as to age, relationship by consanguinity, etc., were substantially those which have prevailed in modern Europe and in our own country.

Of course, when the time came that the regulation of the marriage relation was taken over by the Church, the beginning was made in that series of restrictions which, in time, precipitated the revolt whose consequences we are experiencing to-day. It was inevitable that, when the powers of the Church and the State ceased to be identical, and when communities came into being in which ecclesiastical authority, outside of the immediate fellowship that recognized it, was practically disowned, there should be great reaction. The Church had often used its power in connection with marriage in ways that were gravely open to suspicion; and its stern front to the weak and poor, and its easy

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compliance in the case of the rich and powerful, were not the least among potential influences in producing the revolt, both from monarchical and ecclesiastical authority.

Out of such a condition of things came, inevitably, and by steps which I need not trace here, the condition of things which we find in this land to-day. Marriage was practically taken out of the custody of the Church, and made altogether an affair of the State. Ministers of religion might, as they may, solemnize marriages, but practically in a quasi-magisterial relation to the transaction, rather than any other. Worst of all, as we are now slowly coming to realize, in a Republic whether of thirteen or three times as many States, each State might make its own marriage laws, and the contract according to any one of them was valid anywhere in the land. And so, in the forty-five States of this Union, there are almost as wide diversities in the matter of marriage laws, as there are of climate, color, or local tradition.

Nor is this all. The revolt from ecclesiasticism carried with it many of those conditions precedent in the case of marriage, which experience has shown to be among its wisest safeguards. Thoughtful people to-day throughout the land are shocked and dismayed by the reckless and dissolute precipitance with which the marriage tie is broken, and with which unscrupulous people conspire to rid themselves of its obligations to one person, in order that they may flippantly assume them towards another. But what was to be expected in a relation which the law, in some of the oldest and most conservative communities, enables people to create without either circumspection, publicity, or deliberation? The old ecclesiastical provision, still existing in other countries, which requires publication in Church, or otherwise, of the intention of marriage, is widely scouted by us as intolerable tyranny and impertinence. And yet, upon even the lowest view of it, marriage is something in which not those alone who contract it are concerned. The State, human society, the community of whatever description, have a large stake in the marriage of individuals; for such a contract implies, according to the law of nature, burdens in which all must directly or indirectly share, and the possible perpetuation of evils from which all must more or less really suffer. We approach here, I recognize, a line where the question passes over into the domain of what we are wont to define as that of those larger rights and larger freedoms which

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no law may equitably invade. But the question which, in the United States, demands our urgent consideration to-day is the question, whether our concessions to freedom have not already been concessions which threaten primary moral sanctions and the whole social fabric. To endure a condition of things such as exists among us, where that which, within one geographical area, law and public sentiment both declare to be wrong, becomes right the moment one has crossed a territorial line a few miles away; to recognize divorces, and marriages subsequent to them, which have in them no other element than the loosest license, and the most wanton self-will; this is to tolerate a situation which, sooner or later, threatens all social or moral sanctions, and condemns a people which accepts it to that reversion to primitive type that would land us at last in barbarism.

It is a matter for profound thankfulness that there has been, of late, on this subject, a wide awakening of the public conscience. It is true, I presume, that the time for the ideal remedy, at least in one direction, for our present situation, is not yet ripe. That would be a uniform divorce law throughout the land. But we may at least begin, in the several commonwealths, some organized movement for strengthening our defences against reckless and imprudent marriage. In some of our oldest states, such, for instance, as New York, the present law is, in this respect, most defective. Persons desiring to be married may come from anywhere, accompanied by anybody and often by nobody, without previous notice, published proclamation, or warning of any kind; and without any license from State, city, or court, may demand marriage of magistrate, or minister of religion, and be married by him solely upon his own discretion. He is in all cases to be the judge of their legal or moral competency to contract marriage, of their previous condition, unmarried, widowed or divorced, and of every other question which so great a step involves. And yet, when these persons are married, when the wife has borne children, and when the husband has abandoned them, the State must interfere to protect the mother and to support the children! It is difficult to conceive of a situation which, under the most solemn sanctions of law, and often of religion, could be more deplorable.

Let it not be supposed, however, that in this matter, or in any other, in connection with our present social tendencies, of which I have spoken thus far, I am building greatly upon the

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law. A great authority has reminded us that the law was made "not for a righteous man but for the disobedient,"* a barbed wire fence, as it were, coming against which he is to find that he is a creature living within fixed restrictions, whose unyielding limitations, and not his own wayward will, are to be the boundaries of his liberty. But as, to follow the same homely figure, reason, intelligence, an awakened moral sense, the power of fixed habits on the side of good conduct, are better guides to life than a barbed wire fence, so society may wisely recognize that more potent than laws, whether of the Church or of the State, with reference to any social evil among us, is that nurture of the individual which determines in him, at length, those higher motives and judgments of life, in all its various relations, which are to make of that life something worthy of its origin and its powers.

And so this discussion leads us finally to the question, What is that institution and order which has in it the forces most competent to contribute to that end? To that question I answer, that institution which in human history is the oldest and most nearly universal, the family. We take it up in its earliest and most primitive forms, and we find in it the first dawnings of a regulated and organized life resting, for its foundation, upon authority. That first step which takes a group of people out of a condition of utter lawlessness, is the investing of the parent with the right to rule. Crude impulse, unbridled passion, ignorant prepossessions, these must give way in every direction to that wiser judgment, knowledge, foresight, which are the fruit of years and experience, and which are the reasonable grounds of the authority of a parent. And as we go forward from the least civilized beginnings to the highest developments of human society, it is impossible to miss the profound significance of this fact. There is one race in the world to-day which, in the face of disabilities, persecutions, ostracisms of the most persistent and implacable nature, has for thousands of years illustrated this fact in a very remarkable way. The Hebrew has, of all other peoples, clung to a high ideal of the family life, its affections, its mutual loyalties, and above all its submission to parental authority. And, whatever other traits may explain the remarkable triumphs of this people over obstacles, this must be owned to be pre-eminent among them.

*St. Paul, 1st Epistle to Timothy, I., 9.

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I do not forget that it has been urged that it has been the transplantation of the Hebraic idea of the family to our shores, and its illustration, to look no farther, in our own earlier history, which largely explain the situation confronting us to-day. The earlier homes of our fathers, especially in New England, it will be said, were largely dominated by the Hebraic note. Paternal authority was absolute; filial obedience was, or was expected to be, unquestioning; and it may not unnaturally be urged that the present reaction, in many aspects of the large domain of morals, is the result. But even if this were more than partially true, it would prove no more than that an exaggeration in one direction had produced its inevitable reaction in another, and that the extremes of that reaction are less excusable than the austerities that provoked them.

For, as a matter of fact, that melancholy disintegration of family life which it must frankly be owned is a characteristic of our modern society, is, quite as often as otherwise, to be found where there is no such explanation to account for it. For myself, I believe it to be the product of that enormous exaggeration of individualism of which our own century has seen the development, and which has brought with it in its train a whole host of evils. The struggle for freedom has issued, in more than one direction, in the triumph of license; free thought has been translated to mean free love; and the restraints of august and eternal sanctions have, under the pretext of the rights of the individual, been thrown down and trampled under foot. One illustration of this will be sufficient for my purpose, and it has at least this advantage, that it is pertinent pre-eminently to the sanctity and perpetuity of the family. One of the large movements in the direction of individual rights which have occurred in our day is that in behalf of the rights of woman. Her condition has been described as one of defenceless servitude, and the laws of several of our American commonwealths have undergone considerable modifications in the direction of her personal independence, and of a more equitable definition of her rights in the matter of her person, property, the custody of her children, etc. Along with this, there has gone also what one can only regard, on the whole, with sympathy and approval, a very considerable widening of her opportunities for independent maintenance. The large excess of single women necessarily dependent upon their own resources,

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in countries like England and our own, where men are being constantly withdrawn from the mother country to the colonies, or from the older to the newer portions of the Republic, has made it necessary that avenues of employment for women should be opened in directions wholly unprecedented. It is of this state of things, especially in cities, that we are just beginning to see the consequences. The independent single woman, with her own *ménage*, however simple and microscopic, mistress of herself and of her time when the task hours of the day are done, and of her own person all the time, presents a tempting contrast to her married sister, weighted with cares of little children, with impaired health, narrow means, and, it may be, a selfish and brutal husband. Under the unnameable conditions of our modern life, indeed, the children may often be absent; but, in such a case, the situation is not greatly changed, and the modern wife, without domestic occupation sufficient to keep her happily employed, falls a prey to false teachers and foolish dreamers, who are continually finding some better order on which to rest the foundations of human society than that on which the Originating Mind has rested it. "For God setteth the solitary in families," and it is at our peril that we tamper with His Divine Order!

And so, a wise foresight will see that he is the truest friend of the Republic who strives to re-build the Home and re-create the Family. In this connection, it would be worth while for some one to gather and tabulate for us our American statistics of hotel life. The proportion of married people who, in cities and towns, live in hotels is coming to be one of the most curious and grave phenomena of our modern civilization. The proportion of such persons who have no children or whose children are in schools or seminaries, would also be an interesting statistic; and the plea, in such cases, that the city is no place for children—as if any mere hygienic conditions could supply the place of home love and training—would bring us face to face with the most pathetic revelation of all.

For, straightway, in such a case there must needs arise in the memory of any thoughtful person a home which he has known, and of which, it may be, it was his high privilege once to be an inmate. In such a home the family circle, which in our modern life exists, so far as it survives at all, in the attenuated dimensions of the breakfast table, to which its members, if they come at all,

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come in ragged and disjointed order, the other meals being eaten down town, at the Club, as guests at somebody else's table, at restaurants, and the like; in such a home, I say, the daily order was a daily privilege, and the family gathering in the evening a daily refreshment. Age and youth, in such companionships, daily touched each other in mutually helpful and inspiring ways. Fatherhood was wisdom, gentleness, counsel, sympathy. The boy's tasks and books were the counters through which the common knowledge and interest were exchanged; the girl's dainty needlework the first expression of artistic taste, which a mother's reading, travel, social intercourse, gilded with the fine charm of a wider horizon; the thought for others; the consideration for helplessness; the homage to age; the gentle breeding, in one word, that makes fine manners because its fruit is a sensitive respect for what is due to others rather than a brusque determination to exact what is due to ourselves, these it was that made in such a home a centre of reverence and loyalty to all that was pure and good, to all that was just and tender. And this because to such the home was not a tavern but a sanctuary, not a lodging house, but a haven of rest and strength. The passion for freedom was forever subordinated to the sense of duty, and the yoke of authority was forever transformed by the touch of love.

And so we Americans may well see our calling to-day. That brilliant people to whom I began by referring have no word in their vocabulary for *home*, and their tragic history is the monumental illustration of the absence of that training and nurture for which, in its highest aspect, the home stands. As one of their own prophets has lately said, "The children are the principal victims of the French home system. It would seem that our homes are really organized for strangers more than ourselves. This must be changed. Our course of action must be reversed. Private life is an unrecognized but formidable power; *no social recovery is possible unless this be recognized.*"* I italicize these last words, for they are the key to reform in our whole social structure. Wherever we end, we must begin with the home. Our own history has given to us, here, a high and noble ideal. The question for us is, Can we re-produce it?

HENRY C. POTTER.

*"Anglo-Saxon Superiority," Edmond Demolius, p. 196.

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A TRAINED COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE.

BY EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN YALE UNIVERSITY.

OUR previous annexations of territory, with the possible exception of Alaska, have never involved questions of administration essentially different from those with which our public men have been familiar; for, from the first settlement of the colonies, the occupation of new land and the organization of new communities have been the special task and most noteworthy achievement of the American people. Acquisitions, like the Louisiana and Mexican cessions, merely afforded room for the natural overflow of our people, and the new possessions soon became more distinctively American than the mother States. The wonderful results of this spontaneous process are accepted by too many of our people as a demonstration that we can cope equally well with the extremely difficult and complicated task of governing large masses of alien and unwilling subjects. Yet, a moment's reflection must show everyone that the simple form of growth which has expanded the United States from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, cannot be extended to our recent acquisitions.

Neither Cuba nor Porto Rico is likely ever to be populated by English-speaking Americans. Our ideas, no doubt, will pervade these islands to some extent, but that their civilization will cease to be Spanish is highly improbable. Their inhabitants are a civilized people, heirs, like ourselves, of a European culture, possessing a noble language, a splendid literature, and a highly developed jurisprudence. This inheritance they will never voluntarily give up, nor can they be forced to sacrifice it without tyrannical oppression. Those who think differently should study the case of French Canada, or, even better, the case of Louisiana.

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It would have been natural to expect, in 1803, that the inflowing tide of American immigration would soon absorb or overwhelm the scattered little settlements of French creoles, numbering in all, masters and slaves, within the bounds of the present State of Louisiana, not more than thirty thousand. On the contrary, French life and manners still survive, the civil law has never been displaced by the English common law, and after nearly a century, over one-sixth of the native whites of the State cannot speak the English language. In view of this experience how remote is the possibility that the dense population of Porto Rico will ever lose its Spanish character?

Turning to the Philippines we find a task still more widely different from any that we have ever undertaken, and far more complicated. This archipelago is nothing less than an ethnological museum. Its population of six or seven millions ranges from the Negrito headhunters to the civilized Tagals and Visayas, who had a written language before the Spaniards came among them, to say nothing of the Chinese, the Chinese-Malay and Spanish-Malay mixtures who constitute the enterprising element in the towns. Furthermore, although hitherto beyond our horizon, these islands are not in a remote corner of the earth like Alaska, where failure would be hidden or unnoticed, but they lie at the very meeting place of nations, and all that we do there will be under a white light of publicity. The most energetic and ambitious powers of Europe will be our neighbors and critics.

To expect that the problem of the Philippines or of Cuba and Porto Rico can be dealt with by our ordinary methods of administration and of appointment to office is to live in a fool's paradise. Only a blind national pride can believe for a moment that the average American politician or office seeker can deal with the situation any better than the Spanish political heelers have done. In fact, the American with his ignorance of the language and customs and his contempt for "dagoes" and "niggers" will be even less qualified for the task. A repetition in the West Indies of the mistake of Jefferson, who committed the French and Spanish population of Louisiana to the government of Claiborne and Wilkinson, men grossly ignorant of their language, customs, institutions, and history, will make our rule less tolerable than that of Spain. A repetition in the Philippines of the government of Alaska or South Carolina thirty years ago, would be a world-

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wide scandal, and bring more disgrace on the American name than all the fraud, stealing and murder of the entire Reconstruction period.

As a civilized, progressive, and conscientious people, we must either not attempt the work which has fallen upon our hands, or we must entrust it to the best administrative ability that the country possesses, to men not inferior in natural powers and special training to our leading army and navy officers, who will, like these officers, enjoy permanence of tenure, the social distinction of an honored profession, and the privilege of retiring after their term of service on an allowance adequate to their comfortable support.

The nucleus for such a body of officials will naturally be found in the regular army, and for the transition work of establishing order and restoring confidence they are fitted by their professional experience and discipline. But a permanent military government is alien to our ideas and should be established only as a final resort. The education of a soldier does not prepare him for civil administration. The military mind is arbitrary and unconciliatory; it is disposed to crush rather than to win; it holds life cheap. In brief, its ideals and standards are those engendered by war and its necessities.

What, then, should be the nature of the special training required of candidates for administrative positions in our dependencies? In thoroughness and extent, it should not be less than that demanded of our own lawyers and physicians. This means two or three years of distinctively professional training resting on the solid foundation of a regular course of study in a college or scientific school. Starting from the same general level of preparation as the student of law or medicine, the colonial civil service candidate should devote himself to the following groups of studies: Geography and Ethnology, History, Economics and Law, Languages, Religions, and Folk Psychology.

The work in geography should cover the physical features, climate, plants, and economic resources of our dependencies, and the principles of tropical hygiene. Under the head of ethnology, the elements of the comparative study of the races of man would be followed by a more thorough examination of the peoples of Eastern Asia and Polynesia. The next group would deal with the history of the relations of Europeans with the East, and, in

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particular, with the history of the colonial systems of England, France, Holland, and Spain; with the tariffs and financial systems; and, finally, with the principles of administration, including the study of the civil law as developed in the Spanish codes, Mohammedan law, and the legal customs of the native tribes. Between customs and religions the dividing line is really invisible, and this branch of the work may just as well be included under the general head of Folk Psychology. By this somewhat unfamiliar name we mean the study of the outfit of ideas, moral, religious, social, and philosophical, which any well differentiated human group inherits from its ancestors and passes over to its posterity. Into this mental world in which they live he must enter who wishes to stand on common ground with any alien race. In no other way can suspicion and hatred be made to give place to sympathy and confidence. The entrance to this strange world, vastly more remote and inaccessible to the average man than the Philippines is to be found only through the study of language and with the help of a trained scientific imagination. Translations and interpreters, at the best, leave one still outside and merely peering in through a dense and highly refracting medium.

Does all this seem impracticable and Utopian? In proportion as it does, the reader may be sure that he falls short of realizing what we have really undertaken to do. It is no more than England, Holland, France, and Germany are doing for their colonial and diplomatic service. If we do less, we shall take heavy risks that European colonial authorities will have the same contempt for our management that we now have for Spain's. Mr. John Foreman, after an experience in Spain and the Philippines of nearly a quarter of a century, writes: "Of the hundreds of officials that I have known, not one had the most elementary notions of Tagalog or Visaya (the native languages of the Philippine Islands), at the time of their appointment, and not one in fifty took the trouble to learn either language afterwards." In not one of the Spanish Universities is there taught a modern Oriental language, except Arabic, nor was there last year a single chair devoted to colonial problems, nor in the university of Manila was there any opportunity to study the languages and customs of the Philippines. The civil service in the Spanish colonies, like that of the mother country, has been purely a spoils system. No examinations of any kind have been required. Offices have been the re-

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ward of fidelity to the political "*caciques*" (bosses), and the dangers and discomforts of colonial service have been compensated for by the abundant opportunities for "*chocolate*" (boodle). Not least among the causes of the final collapse of Spain's colonial power has been the blight of spoils.

In marked contrast to Spain stands little Holland, with substantially the same problems in the East. Whatever have been the dark sides of the Dutch colonial system, incapacity and venality have not been among them. For the last fifty years, the Dutch Government has required a definite standard of proficiency for the various grades of the colonial service, to be proved by passing the colonial service examinations or by the attainment of a degree in law. The candidate for the colonial service finds in Holland extensive provision for his instruction. At the university of Leiden there are professors of colonial and Mohammedan law, the Japanese and Chinese languages, of Ethnography, and lecturers on the Sunda languages, on Malayan, Persian and Turkish, on Mohammedan civilization and religious history. Designed especially for training men for the colonial service is the *Indisches Institut* at Delft, where there are courses in the administrative and constitutional law of the Netherlands, Indies, the Malayan and Sunda languages, Japanese, ethnology, geography, religious legislation and customary law, the law and institutions of the Dutch Indies, and the Bata, Bali, and Madura languages. This systematic training has borne abundant fruit in the indefatigable activity of the Dutch officials, travellers, and scientific men in the collection of material and the diffusion of knowledge relating to every aspect of their colonial domain, to an extent of which the average American can have no idea. In 1895 a clerk in the Dutch Colonial office published a bibliography of the literature of the Netherlands East Indies, covering only the twenty-seven years, 1866-1893. This simple list of titles and references fills four hundred octavo pages.

Turning to England, France, or Germany, we find, as we might expect, a highly trained colonial service, and university courses of study designed to supply such a training. At Oxford, there are teachers of Hindustani, Persian, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Bengalese, Turkish, and Chinese, Indian law and Indian history. In Cambridge, nine courses of a practical character are provided for the candidates for the Indian civil service. In London, Univer-

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sity College has professors and lecturers on Arabic, Persian, Pali, Hindustani, Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu, and Indian law. Still further provision is made by King's College joining with University in establishing a separate school of modern oriental languages in which instruction is given in Burmese, Arabic, Japanese, modern Greek, Chinese, Persian, Russian, Turkish, Armenian, and Swahili. Candidates for the Indian service in their final examination must be examined in the Indian Penal Code, the language of the province in which they seek appointment, the Indian Evidence Act and the Indian Contract Act, and in any two of the following: Civil procedure, Hindu and Mohammedan law, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and the history of India.

France is not behind England in the effort to obtain highly qualified men to take up the responsibilities of administration in Africa and Asia. In Paris the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, founded twenty-five years ago, is designed especially to prepare students for foreign diplomatic service. Its corps of teachers is recruited from the most eminent scholars in France within and without the regular faculties, and the courses embrace administrative law, political economy, finance, commercial geography, commercial law, history and modern languages. On "colonial questions" alone there are six lecturers. Side by side with this school of politics is the school of modern oriental languages, a list of whose graduates is annually communicated to the ministers of war, marine, commerce, and foreign affairs. In this institution the course of study extends over three years, and instruction is provided in Arabic, written and colloquial, Persian, Russian, Turkish, Armenian, modern Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Hindustani, Roumanian, Annamese, Malayan, and Malagasy, in the geography, history and legislation of the Far East and of the Mohammedan countries.

Germany, although a late competitor in the field of colonial and commercial expansion, has realized as fully as England and France the importance of trained men in the public service, and the seminary for the study of modern oriental languages at Berlin is one of the most systematically equipped in the world. The teaching force is made up both of Germans and of Orientals, who teach their native tongues, and includes instructors in Arabic (2), Chinese (2), Japanese (2), Gujarati, Persian, Hindustani, Syrian Arabic, Maroccan Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Turkish (2), Swahili

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(2), Hausa (2), Russian, and modern Greek, in the technique of the natural sciences, the hygiene of the tropics, and tropical botany. The unequalled opportunities in both Berlin and Paris for studying anthropology, ethnology, comparative religions, and all branches of geographical science need not be set forth here.

This brief review of what Holland, England, France, and Germany are doing to obtain trained men for the diplomatic and colonial service, cannot fail to impress every thinking reader with the simple fact that we have entered the race for the control and development of the East far behind our rivals and critics in preparation for the work. Vastly superior to Spain in wealth and energy and progressiveness of spirit, and actuated in some measure by philanthropic impulses, we take up our task under a fearful handicap. We lack not only trained men, but the belief that training is necessary. The most ominous feature of the situation is that the controlling element among the advocates of expansion look upon a trained civil service with hostility and contempt. Yet, if our colonial service is sacrificed to party interests as spoils, nothing can be more certain than that we shall take up Spain's work with her methods, and that with such discredited methods we shall fall far short in our colonial administration of the disciplined and intelligent efficiency of the English and Dutch services. The consequence will be humiliation for ourselves and irritation and discontent among our dependents.

Yet, supposing that the seriousness and perplexity of the problems of government in our new dependencies should convince our authorities of the need of highly trained men, where can they be found? Pending the organization of a regular system of preparation, the first resort should be to men of successful diplomatic experience in Spanish speaking countries and in the Orient. A knowledge of Spanish should be insisted upon at the earliest practicable moment for every official in the West Indies and the Philippines. The events of the last year have already given such an impulse to the study of Spanish at our colleges, that before long this requirement will be as practicable as it is reasonable.* For service in the Philippines a certain number of men of the highest character and thorough knowledge, and familiar with oriental life and thought, could be recruited from the ranks of our missionaries in Asia. Suitable instruction for candidates for a colonial

*At Harvard, this year, the course in elementary Spanish was chosen by over 150 as compared with 65 last year.

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service in such subjects as oriental history, colonial problems, administrative law, civil law, comparative religions, ethnology, anthropology, and Folk Psychology could be supplied to-day in no small degree at five of our universities—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, and Chicago. The facilities at these institutions and at others would be enlarged and adjusted in prompt response to a specific demand. In fact, in a suprisingly short time it would be entirely practicable for our Government to have as candidates for appointment for the colonial service, men as thoroughly equipped for intelligent and efficient administration as those at the disposal of England, France, Holland, and Germany. As I have just said, the most serious difficulty will not be to get the right kind of men, but to educate public opinion to demand trained men for such work. This will require resolute, persistent, and intelligent agitation, and the energetic diffusion of knowledge in regard to the nature of our task and the ways of dealing with it. In this direction a good beginning has already been made, in the dispatch of the Philippine Commission, and in the appointment of committees by the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association to collect information and report at the next meeting of these bodies. In the report of the Historical Association, we may look for a clear account of the systems of colonial administration employed by England and the Continental powers, and the methods of recruiting the civil service, and in the report of the Economic Association, for a similar review of the commercial and tariff policies of these powers in regard to their dependencies. Much may be hoped from both these committees in the way of extending our knowledge of every phase of the expansion of Europe in the nineteenth century. In the light of this knowledge, an intelligent and well directed public opinion may guide and control the expansion of America in the twentieth century.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

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FIVE YEARS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE Statistical Abstract of the United States, recently issued for the year 1898, enables us to measure at a glance the progress made in the last 5 years, under 12 headings.

1.—*Population.*

The estimated number of inhabitants in June, 1898, was 74,389,000, against 66,826,000 in 1893, and the increase was accounted for in this way:

Immigrants	1,397,000
Natural increase	6,166,000
Total	7,563,000

Immigration has fallen off by one-half, averaging only 280,000 yearly, whereas in the preceding term of 5 years (1888-93) the average was 520,000 per annum. Natural increase (that is, the excess of births over deaths), was only 17.4 per thousand, a low ratio compared with the preceding records of the republic, viz.:

Period.	Medium Population.	Natural Increase yearly.	Rate per 1,000.
1831-50	17,500,000	422,000	24.1
1851-70	31,100,000	602,000	19.3*
1871-90	50,400,000	1,019,000	20.2
1893-98	70,600,000	1,233,000	17.4

The decline of immigration may be traced directly to the vexatious regulations against what are termed "European paupers," but it is not so easy to account for the diminished rate of natural increase. We must suppose either a higher death-rate or a lower birth-rate, and the former is the more probable in view of the exceedingly rapid growth of urban population, while there is no reason to suppose a declining birth-rate. In fact, to judge by

*In this interval occurred the civil war of 1861-65, but for which the rate of increase would have exceeded 22 per thousand.

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European countries, the birth-rate of towns is usually higher than that of rural districts. It may be well here to observe that, according to the growth of population in the last 5 years, the census of 1900 ought to show 77,300,000 inhabitants.

2.—*Manufactures.*

Hardware industries have developed in the most amazing manner, the production of pig-iron and steel rising as follows:

	1893.	1898.	Rates of Increase.
Pig iron, tons	7,100,000	11,800,000	67 per cent.
Steel, tons	4,020,000	7,160,000*	78 per cent.

It may be safely asserted that the world has never before seen such a development of hardware industry in 5 years. The growth of textile manufactures has, of course, been less rapid, but is nevertheless remarkable, the consumption of fibre in the various mills showing thus:

	1893.	1898.
Cotton, tons	526,000	835,000
Wool, "	210,000	180,000
Flax, jute, etc	224,000	255,000
Total	960,000	1,270,000

Notwithstanding a decline of 14 per cent. in the weight of wool consumed in the mills we find that, so far from any increase in the imports of woollen manufactures, these have fallen 70 per cent., namely from 37 million dollars in 1893 to 13 millions in 1898. Meantime, it is worthy of observation that the consumption of raw cotton rose from 17 pounds per inhabitant in 1893 to 25 pounds in 1898, while that of wool fell from 7 to 5½ pounds, as if cotton goods were superseding woollen in some parts of the Union. Altogether, the weight of fibre consumed in 1898 was 32 per cent. more than in 1893, from which it may be inferred that the manufacture of textiles increased by one-third in 5 years.

3.—*Mining.*

The latest returns of mineral production are for the year 1897, which compare with those of 1893 as follows:

	1893.	1897.
Coal, tons	162,200,000	178,500,000
Pig iron, tons	7,100,000	9,700,000
Silver, ounces	60,000,000	54,000,000
Gold, "	1,740,000	2,770,000
Petroleum, barrels	48,400,000	60,600,000

*The steel returns are for 1897, those for 1898 not being yet known.

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The total official value of mining products in 1897 was 632 million dollars, against 574 millions in 1893, an increase of 10 per cent., but it will be observed that the increase as regards quantity was much greater, viz.: 25 per cent. in petroleum, 45 per cent. in copper, 60 per cent. in gold. The only item that shows a decline is silver, because the market-price fell 24 per cent. in 4 years.

4.—*Currency and Banking.*

The quantity of money in use has increased 315 millions in 5 years, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.	
	1893.	1898.
Gold	598	862
Silver	615	637
Paper	1,110	1,139
Total	2,323	2,638

The stock of gold money has risen 45 per cent., while silver and paper money show but a slight increase. If we distinguish what was in the Treasury from the money in circulation the account will stand thus:

	Millions of Dollars.			
	Treasury.		Circulation.	
	1893.	1898.	1893.	1898.
Gold	189	204	409	658
Silver	493	515	122	122
Paper	44	81	1,066	1,058
Total	726	800	1,597	1,838

Taking the aggregate amount of money between the Treasury and circulation, we find that gold constituted 32 per cent. of the total in 1898, against 26 per cent. in 1893.

Banking returns show a considerable decline as regards capital, and at the same time an increased activity, the turn-over rising 30 per cent. in 5 years: the principal items stood in millions of dollars, thus:

	1893.	1898.
Capital	679	622
Deposits	1,468	2,107
Sundries	963	1,275
All liabilities	3,110	4,004

These figures refer only to National Banks, the number of which is now 3,576, against 3,758 in 1893, showing a diminution of 182 banks, notwithstanding the increase of trade and population in the interval. The average dividend on banking capital last year was 3½ per cent., the same as in 1893.

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5.—*Trade and Commerce.*

Comparing the external trade of the Union in 1898 with that of 1893, and excluding all goods in transit, we find as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.	
	1893.	1898.
Imports	844	587
Exports	831	1,210
Total	1,675	1,797

Notwithstanding an increase of 7½ millions in population, there has been a decline of 257 million dollars in imports, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		
Imports of	1893.	1898.	Decline.
Food	269	171	98
Raw material	218	189	29
Manufactures	249	153	96
Sundries	108	74	34
Total	844	587	257

The value of food imports has declined 36 per cent., which is the immediate result of violent changes in the tariff, viz.:

Year.	Food Imports.	Duties.	Incidence.
1893	269,300,000	12,900,000	4.7
1898	170,700,000	40,800,000	24.0

The largest item in this class of imports is sugar, which has sustained a serious check, the importations falling from 1,680,000 to 1,200,000 tons, while the growth of native sugar is still small, hardly reaching 350,000 tons yearly. There are, meantime, other items which show a heavy fall as regards value, but in which there is no diminution as regards quantity—thus the importation of coffee last year amounted to 390,000 tons, against 250,000 in 1893, and yet the value indicates a fall of 16 million dollars. There has been a great fall of prices in the last 5 years: in Sauerbeck's table the price-level of food is 10 per cent. lower than in 1893. Hence it is evident that the imports of food have not declined in quantity so much as in value. When we turn to consider the imports of manufactured goods we are confronted with the singular fact that there has been a decline of nearly 40 per cent., although the duties in 1898 were much lighter than in 1893, as appears from the following table:

Year.	Imported Manufactures.	Duties on same.	Incidence per cent.
1893	248,500,000	112,200,000	45.0
1898	153,000,000	55,000,000	36.0

In view of the lower scale of duties, we should have expected an

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increase in this branch of imports, but the fact is that the home manufactures of the United States are growing with marvellous rapidity, and as a natural consequence the American people takes less goods from Europe every year.

6.—*Education and Public Lands.*

Public instruction has made very satisfactory progress in the last 4 years recorded (1893-97), the average daily attendance of school-children having risen 13½ per cent., while the increase of population in the same period was only 9 per cent. The average attendance in 1897 was 48 per cent. of the population of school age, as compared with 45 per cent. in 1893, viz.:

Year.	Population of School Age.	Average Attendance.	Per-centage.
1893	19,620,000	8,840,000	45.0
1897	21,080,000	10,090,000	48.0

This shows that the schoolmaster is making himself felt more and more every year, expenditure increasing in almost the same ratio as the number of school-children: it amounted in 1897 to $187,300,000, being an average of $18.70 per pupil, or 10 cents higher than the average for 1893. The schools have 403,000 teachers, that is, one for 25 pupils.

Land grants and selections, including Homestead grants and lands belonging to railroads, which were taken up by settlers in 5 years, covered an area almost as large as the island of Great Britain:

	Acres.
Homestead grants	28,600,000
Railroad, etc.	19,500,000
Total	48,100,000

This gave an average of nearly 10 million acres taken up yearly, to be devoted, for the most part, to new farms, either tillage or grazing. The States in which such grants and selections were made were:

	Acres.
Oklahoma	7,200,000
Dakota	6,300,000
California	3,300,000
Nevada	2,800,000
Various	28,500,000
Total	48,100,000

It may be well here to recall the fact that the census of 1890 showed the total area under farms to be 623 million acres. Land-grants from that time to June, 1898, amounted to 84 million acres,

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from which it may be inferred that the actual farm area is about 707 million acres, the rate of increase being 30,000 acres daily.

7.—*Agriculture.*

The value of agricultural products in 1893 was as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.	Dollars per Inhabitant.
Home use	3,288	49.50
Exported	615	9.30
Total	3,903	58.80

Assuming the home consumption in 1898 to have been the same value per inhabitant the total of agricultural products in the latter years would show thus:

	Millions of Dollars.	Dollars per Inhabitant.
Home use	3,683	49.50
Exported	854	11.50
Total	4,537	61.00

This gives an increase of 634 millions over 1893, equal to $2.20 per inhabitant. As regards agricultural exports the weight has more than doubled in 5 years, and the value has risen 40 per cent., viz.:

	Value, Millions of Dollars		Weight, Tons.	
	1893.	1898.	1893.	1898.
Grain	200	334	5,900,000	13,250,000
Provisions	226	290	720,000	1,080,000
Cotton	189	230	980,000	1,720,000
Total	615	854	7,600,000	16,050,000

The latest details as regards tillage are for 1897, which compare with those of 1893 as follows:

Year.	Acres Under Grain.	Crops, Tons.	Value, Millions of Dollars.
1893	140,500,000	69,100,000	953
1897	150,300,000	81,100,000	1,122

The average yield was 22 bushels per acre in 1897, against 20 in 1893, the product per acre $7.50 against $6.80 for the said years respectively. Meantime pastoral farming showed a great falling-off, both in the number and value of live-stock, viz.:

Year.	Number of Head.	Value, Millions of Dollars.	Dollars Per Head.
1893	164,100,000	2,484	15.20
1898	138,700,000	1,889	13.50

The number of live-stock declined 15 per cent., the aggregate value 24 per cent.

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8.—*Railroads and Shipping.*

Railroads appear to have sustained a serious check in the last 5 years, the annual rate of construction being now hardly one-half of what it was 20 years ago, viz.:

	Miles Built.	Miles Yearly.
1873-83	44,000	4,400
1883-93	63,000	6,300
1893-97	7,800	1,950

Receipts and net earnings for 1897 (the latest year published), show a great decline as compared with 1893, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.	
	1893.	1897.
Gross receipts	1,207	1,124
Expenses	848	786
Net earnings	359	338

The net profit in 1897 averaged 3 per cent. on capital, against 3½ per cent. in 1893. Tonnage of port entries shows an increase of 30 per cent. in 5 years, viz.:

Flag.	1893.	1898.
American	3,490,000	3,360,000
British	8,630,000	11,300,000
Various	4,580,000	7,040,000
Total entries	16,700,000	21,700,000

American shipping continues to decline, while foreign entries show an increase of 5,100,000 tons. When we examine in detail the trade of the several ports we find that New York is rapidly losing its preponderance, viz.:

	Tonnage Entries.		Ratio.	
	1893.	1898.	1893.	1898.
New York	7,020,000	7,770,000	42.3	35.8
Boston	1,630,000	1,910,000	9.8	8.8
Baltimore	790,000	1,650,000	4.7	7.6
Philadelphia	1,620,000	1,640,000	9.7	7.6
New Orleans	940,000	1,600,000	5.5	7.4
Various	4,700,000	7,130,444	28.0	32.8
Total	16,700,000	21,700,444	100.0	100.0

The Southern ports have gained ground prodigiously, and the Northern declined relatively in importance, which is, after all, a favorable symptom, as it indicates a better distribution of trade. Five years ago Philadelphia stood for as much tonnage as Baltimore and New Orleans collectively; at present all these three ports are equal. Baltimore has more than doubled her trade, while Philadelphia has stood still.

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The merchant-navy of the United States (for the most part coasting vessels), continues to decline, viz.:

	Tons Register.	
	1893.	1898.
Coasting	3,896,000	3,960,000
High seas	880,000	730,000
Fishing	90,000	60,000
Total	4,866,000	4,750,000

In the above interval of 5 years, there were new vessels built in the United States summing up altogether 880,100 tons, but the loss of vessels wrecked or broken up was 960,000 tons, and hence a diminution of 80,000 tons, as shown above.

9.—*Finances.*

The ordinary receipts for 1898 show a great falling-off as compared with 1893, and whereas there was a surplus of revenue in 1893, amounting to almost two millions over expenditure, the accounts for 1898 showed a deficit of 103 millions of dollars, viz.:

	1893.	1898.
Customs dues	203,400,000	149,600,000
Internal revenue	161,000,000	170,900,000
Post Office	75,900,000	89,000,000
Sundries	21,400,000	20,000,000
Total receipts	461,700,000	429,500,000
Expenditures	459,400,000	532,400,000

The customs revenue fell 54 millions in consequence of the rapid decline of import trade already alluded to. On the other hand the Post Office receipts were the largest on record. The increase of expenditure was due to the war with Spain. The deficit above-mentioned was partly met by selling Pacific Railway stock to the amount of $64,800,000, the rest being covered by increase of public debt.

The nominal amount of public debt rose in 5 years from 1,546 to 1,796 millions of dollars, but if the amount of cash in the Treasury be deducted, the actual debt in 1898 was only 1,027 millions, an increase of 188 millions as compared with 1893.

10.—*Summary of Results.*

There are lights and shadows in the picture, but the preceding tables show us that the United States are progressing favorably.

1. Population advances at a slower pace than ever before recorded, which is due not merely to restricted laws against immi-

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grants, but also to a diminution of natural increase, arising apparently from higher death-rate.

2. Import trade has fallen off 30 per cent. in five years, partly owing to changes in the tariff, partly to a fall of prices, partly to the development of home manufactures. On the other hand, exports have risen by 400 million dollars.

3. Manufacturing industry appears to have grown prodigiously, the consumption of raw material showing an increase all round of about 50 per cent. in 5 years.

4. Agricultural interests are prosperous as regards tillage, the area under grain having risen 10 million acres since 1893, but pastoral farming seems to have suffered, the number of live-stock falling 25 millions, the value being six million dollars less.

5. Mining shows a great increase in the production of gold, copper and petroleum, while there has been, of course, a decline in the output of silver.

6. Finances have been deranged by a heavy fall of import dues and an increase of expenditure resulting from the war with Spain. The deficit of 1898 reached 103 million dollars. Public debt has risen 250 millions since 1893.

7. Money actually in circulation has risen 241 millions, entirely in gold, silver and paper money, showing no sensible change. At the same time the Treasury has had an increase of 15 millions in gold, 22 millions in silver.

8. Banking business, to judge by the National Banks, has increased 30 per cent. in 5 years, or three times as fast as population, an unquestionable proof of the general prosperity of the Union.

9. Notwithstanding the increase in mileage, the gross receipts of railroads fell 83 millions, the net profits 21 millions.

10. The tonnage of port entries has risen 30 per cent., but this has been entirely in ships carrying foreign flags. The merchant-shipping of the United States shows a steady decline.

11. Public instruction progresses steadily, the average daily school attendance increasing much faster than population. School expenditure is 3 times as much as in the United Kingdom.

12. Land grants to settlers and farmers average 10 million acres yearly, and the area under farms is at present approximately 707 million acres, of which one-third is under crops, two-thirds under pasture.

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THE DECLINE OF BRITISH COMMERCE.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

If, during the next twenty-five years, Great Britain loses her trade as rapidly as she has during the quarter of a century from 1870 to 1895, she will have yielded her primacy as the greatest of the world's commercial powers. If, in the quarter of a century ending in 1924, the same industrial progress is held by the United States as has marked the closing years of the present century, the United States will lead the world in export trade, with Germany second and Great Britain third.

The marvellous expansion of the export trade of the United States during the last few years, has led certain English economists to assert and believe that England, despite the world's competition, still holds her pre-eminence as the greatest exporting nation; that, while other nations have obtained their share of the world's commercial expansion, England's supremacy remains unassailed. Admitting, as they do, that Germany now controls certain industries formerly monopolized by Great Britain, and that the sceptre of the iron and steel trade has passed out of their hands into those of the United States, it is still the belief of English students of trade movements that England has nothing to fear from its commercial rivals. These hopes are false. England is steadily losing her control of the world's markets.

It is a matter of great difficulty to obtain satisfactory and exact *data* as to the world's commerce. Simply to take the aggregate of exports and imports is misleading, because exports of one nation may appear in the returns of imports of two nations. Thus, wool exported from Australia and imported into England, and thence re-shipped to the United States in its original condition and without being advanced in the process of manufacture, would be carried in the import returns of both the United States

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and Great Britain. It is true—or it may, at any rate, be assumed—that British ship-owners and Liverpool or London merchants would have profited by the transaction; the ship-owners by the freight, and the merchant as a factor or commission agent; but the value of this particular Australian export—its value considered as a single item in working out the sum of the world's commerce—is its increase to the wealth of Australia derived from its own resources. Since, therefore, a consideration solely of *special exports* (*special exports* are exports of *domestic* production) would show in a manner more nearly exact than any other the operations of the great exporting nations—because while some nations, conspicuously England, do a large and profitable trade in reshipments, it must be manifest that the foundation of every nation's wealth is in its manufacturing or agricultural productiveness—in the following attempt to exhibit the movement of the world's commerce, only special exports have been considered, and whenever possible British official reports have been used as the authority. The reason why the period from 1870 to 1895 was selected, rather than that from 1874 to the present time, is that from 1870 dates Germany's commercial *renaissance*, while the twenty-five years in question in the United States have been average years; years of plenty and years of famine, in which panics have been followed by booms, and there have been the usual interference with trade by politicians and dislocations of commerce by changes in the tariff. The last three years in the United States have not been average years, they have been as abnormally favorable to our people as they have been, in some respects, unfavorable to some of the nations of Europe.

In 1870 and 1895 the world's commerce (special exports, except where otherwise stated) stood as indicated in the table given on next page (Table A),* amounts being rendered in pounds sterling at the current rate of exchange.

An examination of this table shows that, in the quarter of the century, Russian exports † increased 17.35 per cent; German,‡ 42.90; French, 20.40; the United States, 110.66; British, 13.17. Put in another form, the loss of British commerce becomes even more apparent. In the period from 1870 to 1895, the aggregate

*Compiled from British Board of Trade returns.

†The Russian exports for 1870 are general as well as special, no separate figures having been kept in that year.

‡The German exports are of the year 1872, figures for 1870 not being available.

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Table A.—Special Exports.

Country.	1870.		1895.	
Russian Empire	£56,985,000	(1)	£66,875,000	(3)
Finland	1,381,000	(1)	5,648,000	
Norway	4,487,000	(1)	7,134,000	
Sweden	8,417,000	(1)	17,302,000	(1)
Denmark	6,477,000	(1)	12,040,000	
Germany	116,031,000	(2)	165,895,000	
Holland	31,831,000		98,061,000	
Belgium	27,604,000		55,418,000	
France	112,084,000		134,952,000	
Switzerland	.....		28,177,000	(4)
Portugal	4,565,000		6,066,000	(4)
Spain	15,721,000	(1)	30,172,000	(1)
Italy	30,212,000		41,508,000	(5)
Austria-Hungary	39,541,000		61,817,000	
Greece	1,355,000	(4)	2,846,000	(4)
Bulgaria	.....		3,107,000	(1)
Roumania	6,313,000	(1) (6)	10,602,000	(1)
Turkey	.....		14,015,000	(7) (1)
Egypt	13,983,000	(1) (8)	12,961,000	
United States	78,462,000		165,290,000	
Mexico	6,582,000	(1) (4) (6)	18,928,000	(1) (4)
Costa Rica	.....		855,000	(1) (7)
Venezuela	.....		4,306,000	(3) (4)
Chili	5,620,000	(4)	15,192,000	
Uruguay	2,662,000	(4)	6,780,000	
Argentine Republic	6,093,000	(4)	24,014,000	(4)
Paraguay	.....		372,000	(9)
China	16,588,000	(10)	23,434,000	(11)
Japan	3,912,000	(8) (12)	14,238,000	(13)
United Kingdom	199,586,000		225,890,000	
Total	£796,492,000		£1,273,895,000	

(1) General exports; (2) 1872; (3) 1896; (4) Including specie and bullion; (5) Including silver bullion; (6) 1873; (7) 1893; (8) 1874; (9) 1892; (10) Haikwan tael, 1870 = 6/; (11) Haikwan tael, 1895 = 3/3¼d.; (12) Yen, 1870 = 4/2d.; (13) Yen, 1895 = 2/1$\frac{1}{16}$d.

export trade of the five great commercial nations of the world increased 34.70 per cent., while Great Britain's share of the increase was only 13.17 per cent. In 1870, Great Britain did a trifle more than 35 per cent. of the total of the commerce of the great industrial nations; in 1895, her share was a trifle under 30 per cent. In twenty-five years, she had not only *not* held her position, but she had lost some of the trade she held in 1870, and gained nothing by the commercial expansion of the world. It was because of this loss that the United States, in twenty-five years, were enabled to more than double their exports, and Germany to increase its exports 42 per cent., both nations profiting at the expense of Great Britain.

In 1870, one-quarter of the world's commerce (exclusive of the British colonies and dependencies) was done by England; including her colonies and dependencies, thirty-five per cent. In 1895, Great Britain's share of the world's commerce had fallen to a fraction less than eighteen per cent; or, including her col-

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onies and dependencies, it had declined to thirty-one per cent.; showing that, while she still retained her supremacy as the leading commercial factor of the world, her power was waning instead of growing.

The value of total exports (including bullion and specie)* from British Colonies and Dependencies was:

Table B.—Exports of British Colonies and Dependencies.

Country.	1870.	1895.
India (1)	£53,513,729	£118,605,745
Straits Settlements (2)	8,709,395	18,378,589
Ceylon (3)	3,803,731	4,278,401
Mauritius (4)	2,086,571	3,009,700
Labuan	61,218	118,046
Australasia	28,421,353	64,073,700
Fiji	.....	332,209
Falkland Islands	19,894	122,988
Natal	382,979	1,305,184
Cape of Good Hope	2,603,211	16,904,756
St. Helena	27,485	4,314
Lagos	513,366	985,595
Gold Coast	378,239	877,804
Sierra Leone	349,488	452,604
Gambia	142,517	93,537
British North America (5)	17,085,260	24,646,270
Bermuda	36,757	115,913
Honduras	171,988	244,335 (6)
West Indies	4,991,297	5,351,124
British Guiana	2,383,422	1,769,500
Malta	3,627,694	.....
Total	£129,309,594	£261,670,314

(1) India: Conversions into sterling have been made 2s. to the rupee.
(2) Straits Settlements: 1870, dollar, 4s. 2d.; 1895, 2s. 1½d.
(3) Ceylon: 1870, accounts kept in sterling; 1895, rupee: 1s. 1¼d.
(4) Mauritius: Same as India.
(5) Canada: Dollar: 4s. 2d. in all years.
(6) 1894.

An analysis of the export returns would show that, in nearly all the great staples, Great Britain has lost her position. Space will not permit this detailed examination; but it is interesting to study the changes in four leading lines—coal, iron ore, pig iron and shipping.

In 1870, Great Britain's proportion of the coal production of the great coal producing nations was fifty-one per cent.; in 1895 it was thirty-four per cent.

Table C.—Coal Production.

Year.	Germany (1)	Belgium (1)	France (1)	Austria (1) Hungary.	U. S. (2)	United K'dom (2)
1870....	34,003,004	13,697,118	13,179,788	8,355,945	32,863,000	110,431,192
1895....	103,876,813	20,414,849	28,019,893 (3)	32,654,777 (3)	172,426,366†	189,661,362

(1) Metric tons; 17th Annual Report United States Geological Survey.
(2) Long tons; 17th Annual Report United States Geological Survey.
(3) Eighteenth Annual Report United States Geological Survey.

*British Board of Trade Returns.
†The steady advance of the United States in industrial development is

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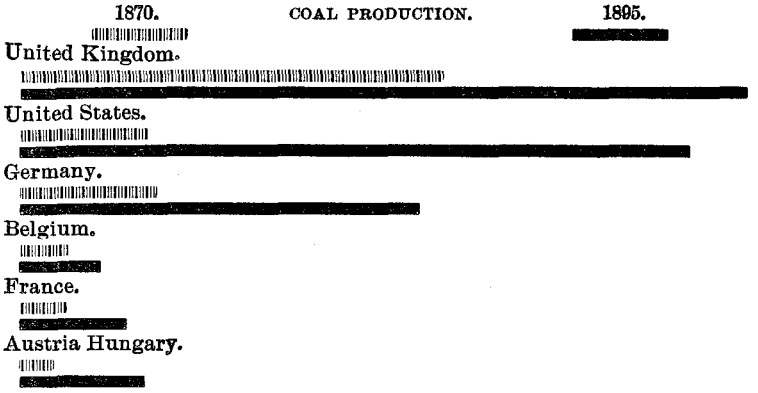
The following diagram indicates the import of these figures:



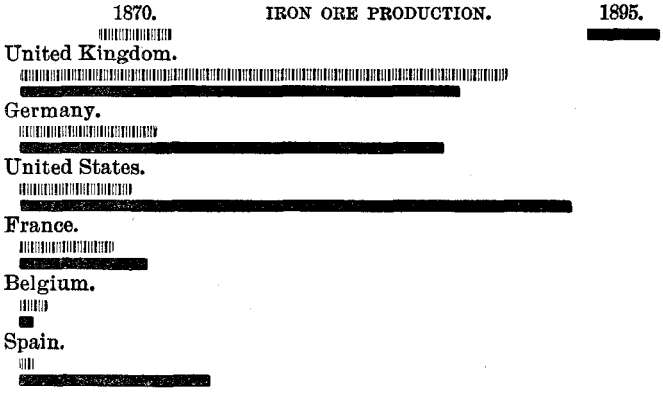
The shrinkage of Great Britain's production of iron ore has been still more marked. In 1870, her output was fifty-six per cent. of the great iron producing nations; in 1895, it had fallen to twenty-five per cent. In 1870, she had produced more ore than all the rest of the world combined; in 1895, she had yielded her first place to the United States.

Table D.—Iron Ore Production.

Year.	Germany (1)	Belgium. (1)	France (1)	Spain (1)	U. S. (3)	United K'dom (2)
1870	3,839,000	654,000	2,614,000	437,000	3,395,718	14,371,000
1895	12,350,000	313,000	3,680,000	5,514,000	15,957,614	12,615,000

(1) Metric Tons; British Board of Trade Returns.
(2) Long Tons; British Board of Trade Returns.
(3) Long Tons; 1870: United States Census; 1895, 17th Annual Report United States Geological Survey.

This diagram shows to the eye what those figures mean:



well illustrated in the following tables showing the world's production of

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In 1870 Great Britain was the only pig iron producing country whose production exceeded consumption and left a surplus for export.

Table E.—Pig Iron.

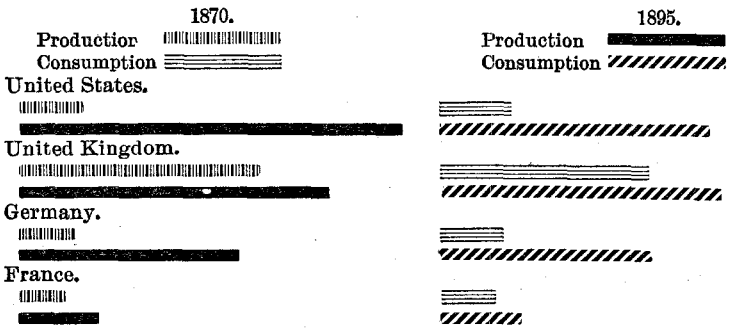
Production and Total Consumption (domestic and foreign) of pig iron in:

	United States (1)		United Kingdom (1)		Germany (2)		France (2)	
Year.	Production.	Consumption.	Production.	Consumption.	Production.	Consumption.	Production.	Consumption.
1870..	1,665,178	1,863,114	5,963,515	5,245,765	1,391,000	1,510,000	1,178,000	1,252,000
1895..	9,446,308	6,648,930	7,703,459	6,925,961	5,464,000	5,434,000	2,004,000	2,007,000

(1) Tons of 2,240 pounds; British Board of Trade Returns.
(2) Tons of 2,204 pounds; British Board of Trade Returns.

This may be represented as follows:

PIG IRON PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.



The United Kingdom, in 1870, produced more than one-half (58.47 per cent.) of the total production of pig iron; in 1895, her production was only 31.28 per cent; although the total production had increased 140 per cent. In this, as in other great staples, the gain of the United States is amazing. While Great Britain, from 1870 to 1895, increased her output of pig iron 29 per cent., that of the United States in 1895 was 460 per cent. greater than it was twenty-five years earlier.

England still holds her own in shipping. In 1872, Great Britain's share of the mercantile tonnage of the world was 33 per cent.; in 1895, it had grown to 48 per cent.

coal for twenty-eight years. In 1868 and 1869, when the total output of the world was about 225,000,000 tons, the United States yielded but 14 per cent. In 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1895, the world's output has exceeded half a billion tons each year, of which the United States has contributed an average of 30 per cent., having more than doubled its percentage. Great Britain, whose mines furnished more than 50 per cent. of the world's product in 1868, now barely exceeds the percentage of the United States.—"The Production of Coal in 1895," by Edward Wheeler Parker, United States Geological Survey.

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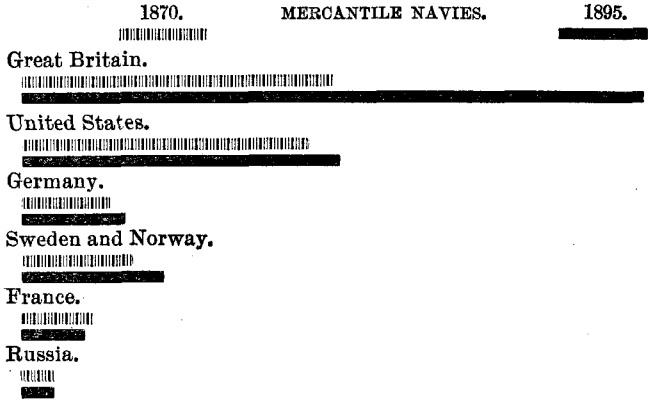
Table F.—Mercantile Navies of the World.

Country.	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons.
Great Britain (1872)	20,097	4,510,556	21,003	8,988,450 (1)
Russia (1874)	2,504	520,584	2,055	513,663 (2)
France (4) (1870)	15,778	1,074,656	15,598	887,078 (1)
Germany (1871)	5,122	1,305,000	3,592	1,502,044 (1)
United States (1870)	28,998	4,246,507	23,240	4,635,960 (3)
Sweden (1872) and Norway (1873)	11,325	1,669,433	10,033	2,087,968 (1)

Statistics from *American Cyclopaedia.* (1) As of date Jan. 1, 1896; *The Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1897. (2) 1895; *Ann Cyclo.,* 1896. (3) June 30, 1895; *Ann. Cyclo.,* 1895. (4) Exclusive of small fishing vessels.

The accompanying diagram illustrates the state of the case:



Although the majority of Englishmen have not yet realized that England is fast being outstripped in the commercial race, it is a fact keenly appreciated by foreign governments. In a report made to the Foreign Office by M. S. Constable, British Consul at Stockholm, under date of June 6, 1898, statistics are quoted from a report compiled by the Swedish government on the trade and industries of Great Britain, in their relation to those of foreign countries. The statistics as well as the conclusions agree with mine, although it should be remembered that the Swedish returns are for five-year periods instead of individual years as I have given them. Mr. Constable's report is of so much importance that the salient portions are quoted *in extenso*:

"Output of principal iron ore producing countries:

Country.	1871-1875. Tons.	1881-85. Tons.	1891-95. Tons.
Great Britain and Ireland	16,087,000	17,154,000	12,249,000
Germany	5,262,000	8,557,000	11,679,000
United States	4,532,000	8,516,000	14,288,000
France	2,651,000	3,018,000	3,651,000
Spain	613,000	4,119,000	5,346,000
Other countries	4,181,000	4,578,000	9,068,000

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"It is noticeable that Great Britain and Ireland's production has decreased absolutely, not merely relatively as regards that of other countries.

"Average output of principal pig iron producing countries:

	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Great Britain	6,562,000	8,227,000	7,361,000
Germany	1,946,000	3,411,000	5,082,000
France	1,265,000	1,899,000	2,006,000
United States	2,284,000	4,370,000	8,263,000
Other countries	2,114,000	2,780,000	4,038,000

"During this period, it appears that Great Britain and Ireland's proportional share in the world's production of pig iron has sunk from 46.3 to 27.5 per cent., while, on the other hand, the United States has increased its proportion of output from 16.1 to 30.9 per cent. In this instance, also, during the last ten years, Great Britain and Ireland's production shows an absolute falling off, not merely a decrease relative to that of other countries. The rapid development of Germany and the United States as pig iron producing countries is very striking.

" Principal coal producing countries:

	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Great Britain	126,972,000	161,470,000	184,819,000
Germany	44,680,000	68,630,000	97,008,000
France	15,862,000	20,250,000	26,658,000
United States	45,283,000	94,130,000	160,832,000
Other countries	33,973,000	52,175,000	78,832,000

"During the earlier period, it thus appears that Great Britain and Ireland supplied forty-seven per cent. of the world's output of coal, but at the present time only thirty-four per cent.; Germany seventeen per cent. and now eighteen per cent.; whilst the United States have advanced from seventeen per cent. to nearly thirty per cent.

"Estimated annual consumption of raw cotton:

Country.	1871-80. Tons.	1891-94. Tons.
Great Britain	5,632,000	7,091,000
Europe	4,271,000	8,524,000
United States	2,746,000	5,522,000

"Since the year 1870 Great Britain's consumption of cotton has increased by one-quarter, whilst that of the rest of Europe and the United States has doubled.

" Estimated average annual value of the commerce (imports and exports taken together) of the four greatest trading countries:

Country.	1881-85.	1891-95
Great Britain	£573,888,888	£589,166,666
Germany	306,611,111	352,777,777
France	318,222,222	296,833,333
United States	302,333,333	347,333,333

"Thus, during this period, Great Britain's trade has increased by slightly more than 2½ per cent.; that of Germany and the United States, each, by fifteen per cent.; whilst the trade of France has steadily declined.

"Perhaps the most striking fact brought into relief by these statistics, is the rapidity of Germany's industrial development since the Franco-Prussian war. The fighting organization of the country was

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then strong, but its wealth and resources, though sufficient for the effort it was called upon to make, were by no means proportionately developed. The sudden increase of her coal, iron, and iron-ore producing industries, the extension of her railway system, and the quick growth of her foreign trade (considerations more fundamentally related to a continued exercise of influence and power than the actual number of soldiers a nation may, at any given time, be able to put in the field) have now placed her in a much stronger position.

"A comparative review of these statistics moreover shows, that the standing of Great Britain (considered apart from her colonies) has retrograded in relation to the other great nations within the last twenty-five years. In nearly every important department of industry her proportional share has much diminished. As to her shipping only is her early supremacy fully maintained. This change in Great Britain's position with reference to other countries, as regards wealth, occurring as it has within so short a period, has probably not been appreciated, nor its consequences fully considered, except by those whose attention has been especially directed to such subjects."

That England is losing her trade cannot be controverted. What are the causes? Briefly, in my opinion, they are three, and one is especially worthy of study by the United States at the present time.

Undoubtedly, the principal cause of England's commercial decadence is her extreme conservatism and the individual Englishman's obstinacy. He is willing to accept an improvement if stamped "made in England;" if it comes to him from abroad, whether from Germany or America, he fights against it until actually forced to surrender. It is this antagonism to a new thing which makes London in some respects twenty-five years behind New York or Chicago. No American would tolerate the heat and abomination of the Underground Railway; or the inadequate street-car system; or the still more inadequate telephone service; or the scarcity of electric lights; or the regularly recurring water famines; or the almost complete cessation of telegraph service at night; or the inconvenience every traveller suffers in taking his luggage to or from a station; all of which might and could be easily remedied, if the Englishmen were not so wedded to the old and could be made to see that the new is not without merit.

It is the constant study of engineers to eliminate friction. Eliminate friction, and your machinery is perfect. The American man of business, in little as well as in great things, is continually studying to remove the grain of sand; the Englishman appears to enjoy it. Labor-saving devices, so common as to

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be regarded as matters of course in an American office or factory, are rare enough in England to excite comment. The head of a great establishment in America sits at a desk from which, by simply pressing a small button, he can call his cashier, his heads of departments or his assistants; without leaving his chair, he can talk through the telephone to his manager in an adjoining room, or to his superintendent in the factory half a mile away, or to his partner in another city. An Englishman, if he wants his cashier, rings a hand bell, which is answered by a boy, to whom the message is given, and in course of time the cashier appears. Before the Englishman can tell the cashier to make out the check, the American has cashed his check at the bank, invested the proceeds and made a profit.

It is the same in the factory as in the office. We are too apt to flatter ourselves that the native American is a more intelligent workman than the British workman. Man for man I question this. What is true is that the American proprietor is a more intelligent "boss" than the Englishman. Convince an American manufacturer that any device will save labor—eliminate friction—and he will adopt it. He will put in a colossal engine to do the work formerly done by scores of men; or a small electric motor which saves a few seconds in the sharpening of a tool; but those few seconds in the aggregate mean hours and days in the course of a year, and to that extent his productive capacity is increased. The Englishman, on the other hand only adopts these devices when the American is ready to try something still better.

The consular reports, both English and American, tell the same story of British adherence to fixed and antiquated ideas. "If my customer doesn't like the goods I make, he needn't buy them," seems to be the English theory; while the American manufacturer has no pre-conceived prejudices and considers the customer's tastes as of more importance than his own.

Perhaps this adherence to the old and repugnance to the new is the principal reason why England is feeling so keenly the effects of industrial competition.

The second reason sounds like a contradiction. Too much prosperity is making England poor. England has so long held the monopoly of trade, she has been so long the world's banker as well as the world's master of water transportation, that she has become indifferent to and almost contemptuous of rivalry.

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England plays too much. The workingman averages about the same number of hours as in America, but the master, the employer, the superintendent of labor, is lazy. The American, whether the head of a great corporation, the owner of a small factory or a member of one of the professions, has longer business hours than an Englishman in similar circumstances; and during his business hours the American works under greater pressure. What man of business, lawyer or banker in New York, Boston, or Chicago would think of breaking into his afternoon for a cup of tea at five o'clock? In London, the man "in the city" takes his cup of tea as much as a matter of course as does the member of the West End Club, or the woman of fashionable Mayfair. England is in the position of a man who, having worked hard in his younger days and amassed a great fortune, still keeps his shop open as a matter of habit, and shuts his eyes to the inroads made into his trade by his younger and more enterprising rival across the street. The old customers, especially those whose names are on the books, continue to trade with the old establishment; but the public who are not governed by sentiment when they spend their money, go where they are offered the greatest bargains and the most attractive wares.

It has been alleged that the spread of trades-unionism and the restrictions imposed by the Unions have seriously interfered with, if not in some case actually crippled, certain British manufacturing industries. I doubt whether the tyranny of the English trades-union is any more oppressive than that known in America. The employer of labor in the United States must walk in an exceedingly straight and narrow way, if he would avoid the obstacle which organized labor so recklessly throws in his path; not only must he live up to all the canons of the order, but he must accept responsibility for the acts of his agent's agent. If the contractor whom he engages to erect an addition to his factory has obtained his stone from a non-union quarry, or has it dressed by "scabs," his mill hands, who are perfectly satisfied with their hours and their wages, will strike in the name of labor. In England, as well as in America, the Unions dictate the number of apprentices, the hours and other conditions. If trades-unionism is responsible for England's declining trade, why does not the United States suffer from the same cause? No, English apologists must find a better cause.

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The third reason—and the one which is of direct interest to us in this day of trusts and syndicates—is that the good old-fashioned, safe system of doing business has been superseded by a new method, which is neither good nor safe. The merchant proprietor has given place to the managing director; the owner, his sons or his partners, who were entities, have yielded to a "board," a fleshless creation having no personal significance to the workers, who miss the inspiration of the master. Heredity - servitude is unknown in this country; in England a man was proud of having worked at the same loom where his father worked before him for the father of the present owner; it was a tie not without its influence on master and man, and having an influence not less important on the product of the loom. But all that has changed. The most important man in business affairs to-day is the lawyer, next to him the promoter. In former days, when capital was sought for a new enterprise, the verdict hinged on the decision of practical men who knew the probable profits and reasonable risks. To-day, it is the lawyer who is first consulted, the promoter whose assistance is needed to "float" the shares which the public is expected to buy. All England is engaged in a gigantic gamble; the buying and selling of shares has become an industry of the first magnitude. It is a day of "big" things. There must be substantial commissions for the lawyers, the promoters, the experts, and the rest of the commercial midwives without whom no company can be born.

Napoleon's taunt that the English were a nation of shopkeepers has lost its force. The English are the worst shopkeepers in the world; worse even than the Spanish. The artistic dressing of shop windows, the display of jewels, or lace or china, grouped with a harmonious effect for color and brought into prominence by a background of velvet or silk, which makes a retail street in any large American city a delightful study to a person of refined taste, is practically unknown in England. London's most fashionable shop-windows are "jammed"—the word is used advisedly—with expensive articles of a high order, but these are crowded into a small space, without regard to artistic effect, and as if the sole purpose was to let every passer-by know how large a stock could be found inside. In fact, that is the motive. The Englishman makes his selection from the outside of the shop-window; the American makes his after the shop-

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clerk has spread out before him the wares and he has handled them and examined them at close range. But here, again, the method which permits of this ready choice in the United States is unknown in England. If, for instance, you want to buy socks in America, the clerk will place before you half a dozen boxes; you may make your choice with the deliberation befitting such an important occasion; you may turn over dots and stripes, blues and greens, until at last you find the precise color and the exact pattern you desire. In London, the shop-clerk will produce packages, packages done up in paper and tied with string, which he will open with seeming reluctance and only in part, so that the opportunities for examination and selection are restricted and inconvenient. In America, the purchaser of kid gloves expects to have them fitted to his hand, as he has his shoes fitted to his feet. In London, the fitting of gloves is practically unknown, nor is its utility understood. "Suppose a glove doesn't fit quite so neatly as might be wished," says the shopkeeper, "what difference does it make? Americans are entirely too particular."

The small things which so sharply mark the difference between British and American trade, whether in retail transactions or in those of world-wide commerce, are nowhere more accentuated than in the London shops. The American shopkeeper, curious as the assertion may sound, is more liberal and less petty in his dealings with his customer than the Englishman. In any American store, the purchase of a pair of shoes means to have "thrown in" an extra pair of laces; initials are always marked on silver ware without charge; in England they are paid for as "extras."

It may be contended that these are trivial matters, customs merely local and having no bearing on larger results. But that is an erroneous view. They are really the crucial tests. They explain the reasons for British loss of trade and American trade expansion, reasons which, in their concrete form, may be put into a few words: In America there are no commercial traditions; in England commercial traditions stifle enterprise.

A. MAURICE LOW.

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AMERICA AND ENGLAND IN THE EAST.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

I HAVE been asked an interesting series of questions on behalf of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, questions, I may add, which, like many others, are easier to ask than to answer. It is suggested that there may be some doubt as to "how far England can allow America to advance in the Far East, either commercially or territorially," a question to which the flippant answer might be made that Great Britain can hardly prevent the advance in the Far East of the United States, a Power which, if thwarted either in commercial or in territorial projects, in China, for example, could easily make terms with Russia, ever anxious to obtain her support.

It is shown to me, and, of course, there can be no doubt about the fact, that "America has rapidly growing mercantile interests in China," and that at no former time have the moneyed interests of two nations intermingled to such an extent as is the case with those of the United Kingdom and the United States in China—a country foreign to both. I am, however, asked, "can these two nations, however similar in habits and customs, but owing allegiance to dissimilar principles of government, feel sure their interests will not some day clash?"

It is difficult to deal with the indefinite postponement of dangerous questions involved in the phrase "some day." But I think it can be shown that any dissimilarity between the conservative Republicanism of the United States, and the democratic Constitutionalism of the United Kingdom, is not likely in itself to produce conflict, and that there is no reason to suppose that the interests of the United Kingdom and of the United States in China are more likely to clash than is the case with any commercial

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interests in the world. Dissimilar principles of government, when the balance is redressed by the intense Toryism of the American republican mind, and the greater openness to socialistic experiment of the mind of the Constitutional Monarchists of the mother country, are not a probable cause of conflict. The question of the treatment of Ireland by Great Britain, and the consequent estrangement from British policy of a vast number of voters in the United States, form a much more practical issue. But it is idle for those of us who desire, in the interest of England, a considerable change in the constitutional relations of the principal parts of the United Kingdom, to shut our eyes to the fact that appeasement of Irish sentiment has rendered this difficulty between us and the United States less formidable for a time than it has been in the past or may possibly be again in the future.

What do we mean by the growing mercantile interests of the United States in the Far East; by the intermingling of those interests with British interests, and by the suggested fear that these interests may one day clash? The producers of the United States, with an unrivalled combination of coal, the metals, invention, and skilled labor at their back, will need to send their produce to customers in other portions of the world. The United States will undoubtedly want to send steel and machinery, as well as many other commodities that might be mentioned, to India and to China, and to receive from India and China and Ceylon tea and silk and other articles which the territory of the United States does not produce, or fails to produce in sufficient quantity for American consumption. Although India and China are beginning to work cotton, yet it is probable that even in some classes of cotton goods the United States will find a market in India and in China, and for these purposes she needs the open door—equality of opportunity for her trade, as we need it for our own. No territorial expansion of the United States which seems probable or even possible would do away with this necessity.

It seems wholly forgotten that the relations of the United Kingdom and of the United States, in matters deeply concerning the trade of the former, were greatly threatened a few years ago in a different quarter of the world from that which is now under consideration. When Mr. Blaine called the Pan-American Congress, it was supposed by the great South American States that his object was to establish the commercial dominance of the United

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States over Central and South America. Great Britain sends to these States about twenty-three millions', sterling, worth of her produce every year, and some of them (Venezuela, for example) are, proportionately to their population, much greater consumers of her goods than are her own colonies. British trade appeared to be threatened by the Congress over which Mr. Blaine presided, for, though nothing came of it, that was by no means the expectation entertained in England when the Congress met. Yet no ill-feeling was displayed, no anxiety, no alarm; and the fact that there exists in Great Britain a real friendliness toward the United States, which prevents unpleasant excitement on such occasions, such as would be aroused by similar action on the part of Russia, of Germany, or of France, is a fact which we must not neglect, and which renders not only the discussion but the settlement of such difficulties as we are considering much more easy. Why should matters be worse in Asia than, at a time of far less friendly relations, they proved to be in the Central and South American case?

It is in view of similarities of position, which ought to produce a similarity of policy in China between Great Britain and the United States, that Lord Charles Beresford was led to make speech after speech in the Treaty Ports of China, and in the United States on his way home from a mission which has wrongly been supposed to be official, but which is none the less interesting, in defence of a policy of alliance in China between the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and Japan. There can be no doubt that any British Minister would be prepared to go forward in an active China policy if he were sure of the company of the three Powers named. If no such action has as yet been taken, it must be because there has been no sign on the part of those Powers of any desire to commit themselves in this direction, but opinion in the United States is no doubt ripening upon Asiatic questions. The expansion feeling, which has caused the United States, instead of setting up a nominal protectorate of the Philippines, to take steps which must lead to a virtual annexation of the islands certainly not contemplated at the beginning of the war, is not the same movement as one which is leading to active interest in the affairs of China, but it is a sign of the development of opinion upon somewhat the same lines. Those who desire that the United States should depart from an attitude of neutrality in China, and who have in view diplomatic co-operation with our-

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selves to prevent American commercial interests in China being impaired by the encroachment of other Powers, will be as little annexationist in China as we English are. They will see American advantage, as we see British advantage, in the integrity, if not of China as a whole, at all events of China as a Treaty Power. They will, in the first place, desire to retain trading rights throughout the Chinese Empire, and, even if Germany is forced by her European relations with Russia to maintain an attitude of reserve, a British Minister would be justified in maintaining in concert with the United States and with Japan, or, if Japan were too frightened of her great neighbor to move at all, with the United States alone, an active policy in China. Japan has marked out her sphere opposite to Formosa and south of the Yangtse Valley. She is there a long way from the French, from whom our position at Hong Kong protects her. She is cut off from the Russian sphere by the whole of Central China and the great Valley of the Yangtse. Supposing the open-door policy to fail, is the United States likely to go with us in substituting the policy of spheres of interest or of influence or even of concessions? The feeling in England would support a Minister who in this event would adopt the Central Valley of the Yangtse as the joint Anglo-American sphere, instead of one purely British.

Our policy at the difficult moment of the seizure of a province by Germany and the seizure of Port Arthur by Russia is not defensible as a whole. The Government now, however, seem, in commercial phrase, to have "cut their loss," and to have decided that, although a province is gone to Germany beyond recall, an island to France, and Manchuria to Russia, as regards the rest of China, its integrity for the present can be preserved by agreement with Russia and Germany, and the door left open at all events in the more valuable portions of the country. The promise to ourselves with regard to the Yangtse, which is vague, and means little, will be left to slumber; the promise to the French as to the three southern provinces, which is wholly inadmissible by us, inasmuch as one of those three provinces—Yunnan—concerns us far more than it does the French, and adjoins Burma along a far greater portion of its frontier than it does Tonquin, will slumber along with the Yangtse promise and the promise to the Japanese. The Italian demand will be restricted to a mere coaling station upon a bay. The ministers of the Powers must, however, work

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together at Pekin as firmly and as loyally as they did in the days when Mr. Anson Burlingame (formerly Senator for New York, and afterwards first Chinese Ambassador to the European Courts) was American Minister, and arranged with Sir F. Bruce and General Vlangaly the policy of co-operation at Pekin which for some years was perfectly applied in practice by all the Powers.

The particular point to which British policy at Pekin is being specially directed, is that which the Government have called the discouragement of all preferences and exclusive privileges to foreign Powers in China generally; and this is a policy in which the United States as a future exporter of railway iron and of locomotives has an enormous interest.

The questions which were put to me on behalf of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW went on, after those which I have discussed and tried to answer, to suggest that the day must come when the United Kingdom and the United States or Russia must become finally dominant in China. But surely this lies too far ahead for any but the speculative philosopher. The politicians or the statesmen of this country and of the United States have to deal with the matters which will be pressing in their own lives, and all that they can do with the future is not to unnecessarily give up points which may embarrass their successors. Russia must advance in China by mere weight; but the rate of that advance is a very different matter and depends largely upon the prudence of her rulers. In the meantime, great Anglo-American interests may have grown up, entwined together in the heart of China, and may lead ultimately to a partition between Russia in the north, and an English-speaking community in the centre, in which Australia, as well as the United States and the United Kingdom, will be heard, for Australian capital will play a part in the Pacific. When I am asked, as I have been, whether China is not more vital to ourselves, on account of our possession of the Indian Empire, than it ever can be to the United States, I must answer that the connection between China and the Indian Empire is somewhat shadowy and vague. India has her natural frontiers. She is cut off from China by great mountain ranges, and even her extension into Burma is not one which is likely to bring about much land trade between China and the Province of Burma, on account of the difficulty of the intervening country, and the advantage of sea-carriage over that by land. The interest of Russia in Northern

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China is to India somewhat of a safety valve, giving Russia an ample feeding ground for her ambitions, and tending to prevent her from undertaking the adventure which would be involved in the gradual absorption of portions of Afghanistan, with a view to the attempt to destroy in India a British Government, which, in the course of time, the British colonies will be interested in helping to defend.

I have tried to view the situation largely through American spectacles. I do not believe that even the new interest of the United States in the Philippines and the foreign trade of that Archipelago, and even the increase of her fleet, will lead to American intervention in Chinese affairs on sentimental grounds, or any grounds except a local American interest in China; but that interest seems to me to be there. I think it identical with our own, and likely to lead, if we do nothing to wound American feeling, to co-operation, which, if it is real, will never need to be otherwise than peaceful between the Powers in the Yangtse Valley and at Pekin.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

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THE RESTLESS ENERGY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE—AN IMPRESSION.

BY IAN MACLAREN (THE REV. JOHN WATSON, D.D.).

MANY Americans were good enough to call upon me before I had the pleasure of visiting their country, and many Americans have called since, and no American ever does me this honor without charging the very atmosphere of my study with oxygen, and leaving an impression of activity which quickens my slow pulses and almose reduces me to despair.

It is now several years ago that a tall, thin, alert man followed his card into my study with such rapidity that I had barely time to read it before my visitor was in the room.

"My name is Elijah K. Higgins and I am a busy man. You are also busy and have no time to fool away. Four days is all I can give to the United Kingdom, and I wished to shake hands with you. Good-bye, I am off to Drumtochty."

I calculate that Mr. Higgins spent thirty seconds in my study, and left the room so swiftly that I overtook him only at the front door. When I asked him if he knew where Drumtochty was, "Guess I do!" he said. "Got the route in my pocket, northwest from Perth, N. B.," and in two seconds more he was whirling away in a fast hansom. As I returned to my study and imagined my visitor compassing Great Britain (I think he excluded Ireland, but I am not certain) in four days, I was for a moment roused from the state of comparative lethargy which we, in England, call work, and added six more engagements to my afternoon's programme. For days afterwards, and as often as I was tempted to rest in my chair, the remembrance of that whirlwind gave me a shock of new vigor. Sometimes a reaction would follow, and I humbly thanked Providence, although that was to write

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myself a weakling and a sluggard, that I was not born in the country where Mr. Higgins lived and moved and was at home.

A year earlier, I had been dodging among the Greek Islands in an Italian cargo boat, which was good enough to take passengers, but whose bows had been staved in by a collision. We did not go out to the open when the sea was rough, but we called at any port where we could obtain cargo. We took our meals when we pleased, and had no idea when we should reach our destination. It was a calm voyage where there was no commotion either of mind or body, and then our little pool was lashed into a tempest by the arrival of a new passenger. He came when we were ashore, and ere we returned he had already changed the whole aspect of the ship. The crew had ceased to sleep in picturesque attitudes on the deck, and were explaining him to one another with the aid of gesticulations and many a "*per Baccho.*" The captain was listening to him with unaffected interest, and was evidently much impressed by the eloquence of his new passenger, although he did not understand a single word he said. Our steward, the most leisurely of men, who served a meal only when he was hungry himself, had ceased to smoke, and passed us at a swift walk with a couple of dishes. And I began to understand the situation when I heard what the latest arrival was saying to the captain: "Yes, Cap, you had better hustle and keep on schedule time, or else we will miss the connection at Brindisi."

As he found the Italians uninteresting, as well as unenterprising, he gave us the most of his company, and, as the Scotch woman said about the sermon, it was both "edifying and diverting." He was just returning from a visit to the Holy Land, and it had not "filled the bill," so far as I could make out; he had traversed the whole country in fourteen days and eight hours from ship to ship; and I fancy that if any other person required forty days, he really had done it in fourteen, using no doubt a swift dromedary, and travelling both by night and day. He frankly confessed, however, that his visit had been a disappointment and his trouble had been without gain. Palestine, to my American friend, showed an immense want of activity, and cried aloud for the application of American brains and capital. Jerusalem, in especial, had been a painful surprise, for he had expected great things; and he assured me that its condition was beyond belief.

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"They may say what they like about Jerusalem, but it is a back number. As I am a white man, there's not a trolley-car nor a daily newspaper in the whole place. What Jerusalem wants is a few hustlers from the West. I guess they would show the old place a razzle-dazzle," and my American friend looked far away, as if he saw already the new companies and industries, and speculations of his compatriots in the city of David.

A year ago I was staying in a villa on the Riviera, and a new guest arrived. He had come from America as rapidly as the swiftest ship and through express could carry him, and he was going back again in a week. Had he come for the voyage, or for the Riviera, or to pay a visit of friendship, or to see a picture? Not at all. A workman in the huge mills of which he was manager had discovered the means of doubling the producing power of a piece of machinery. As soon as the invention had been verified, the manager started for Europe to see his partners, and to arrange to spend £100,000 in applying the invention to new machinery. It would save the labor of, say, 50 men, and yet 100 more men would be needed in the works, because such an invention would enable the firm to secure larger contracts. Never in my life have I met a man who impressed a stranger with such a sense of alert intellect and unwearied activity. He thought of nothing, and read about nothing, and spoke about nothing, and dreamed about nothing, and one might add, with one or two reservations, he cared about nothing, except his article of manufacture, which we shall call for the moment aluminium plates. There was no question about these plates which he had not anticipated and could not answer. The sources of aluminium and its value, its constituents, and its combinations, its methods of treatment, and its practical uses, all this he knew up and down, through and through, past and present, and altogether. He could reason with much acuteness on the burning questions of aluminium, he read extensively, and generally had a book in his hand on aluminium plates; he had a highly trained and exuberant imagination on the future of aluminium. Times there were when he even drifted into sentiment, on the service which aluminium had rendered to the human race. It was a joy to meet a man who knew something thoroughly and believed in something utterly, and one felt that, if one had aluminium works, one would like to have my friend Hartmann for manager. Occasionally, he was good enough

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to give me his idea of English manufacturers and machinery (aluminium of course—it is doubtful whether he had heard we manufactured anything else), and he regarded our condition with great concern. He had himself been offered a managership of large English mills and laid down his conditions. The owners must be prepared to put in new machinery every ten years, at the cost of a quarter of a million, and they must clear all union men out of the works. With machinery always up to date and high class workmen, unfettered by any rule of restricted labor, he was of opinion that he could have shown some result that would astonish aluminium circles in England.

"I would have given them," he said, "a good show for their money; but there wasn't sand enough in them to stand the racket; they weakened at the thought of the Unions and the risk of their money."

When I looked at Mr. Hartmann, I was certain he would weaken at nothing, either terror of man or expenditure of money; and I gathered inspiration and something approaching activity from his society. If you were willing to sit with him, he would talk till midnight on his subject, which he invested with a fascinating interest by his wealth of information and brilliant speculations; and if you had looked out at your window at six o'clock next morning you would have seen Mr. Hartmann pacing the grounds with a rapid nervous step. Sometimes, he would stop to write something in his note-book, or he might even sit down to make a calculation in a basket chair intended to shelter invalids from the wind. An idea had entered his mind about the treatment of aluminium, which in nine days he would test in a laboratory at Carthagena, Ill.; or he had seen a way of reducing the terms of a contract. When you saw Mr. Hartmann—who was as impervious to disease as one of his aluminium plates, and to whom every form of invalidism was quite incomprehensible—sitting in a basket chair, you had an agreeable sense of contrast, and a flavor of humor.

Such lively experiences, which I often recall in jaded moments, prepare one for a visit or a re-visit to America, as a tonic gives a sluggish person an appetite for dinner, and it is bare justice to say that one's expectations of American energy in its own home have not been disappointed. If Americans, depressed by our heavy climate and our leisurely life, could yet maintain such a level of

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thought and motion, what might not be possible to them in their own country, where the atmosphere is charged with electricity, and every second man is a "hustler from way-back." The stir of the New World affects the visitor and quickens his pulses as he goes up the Hudson and gets his first glimpse of New York. Your steamer had waited four hours at Queenstown for the mails, but the same mails were transferred to the United States tender as the steamer went up the bay. It is said that some day one of the great railway companies whose connections are broken by the Mersey, will utilize the underground tunnel for goods trains; but on the Hudson you see huge ferry-boats conveying across the river the freight trains of the Pennsylvania Railway Company. Little tugs dart about on all sides with feverish speed, and larger steamers pass with their upper machinery indecently exposed, as if there had not been time, or it had not been worth while, to cover it. Buildings of incredible height line the shores, and suggest that the American nation, besides utilizing the ground, proposes also to employ the heavens for commercial purposes. It was, I think, a Texas paper which translated the austere saying, "*Per aspera ad astra*," into "the hustler gets to heaven," and certain New York builders seem now to be on the way. Whetted by this overture on the river, one is ready for the full music of the city; and I wish to pay the compliment with all honesty, that New York, with the possible exception of Chicago, is the activest and noisiest place I have ever seen, or expect to see in this present world. While an English merchant saunters down to his office between nine and ten, a New York man rises at half past six in his suburb and is busy at work at eight o'clock. The Englishman takes off an hour during the day for luncheon at his club, while the American eats his meal in fifteen minutes. The Englishman spends more than another hour at afternoon tea, and gossip with friends, and sauntering about between his club and his office, while the American packs every minute with work. The very walk of an English merchant, slow, dignified, self-satisfied, and that of the American, rapid, eager, anxious—the one looking as if time were of no importance nor circumstances, and the other as if the loss of a minute might mean ruin—are the visible indices to the character of the nations. It is only yesterday that elevators were introduced into English city buildings, and there are many London offices to which you still have to make an Alpine ascent of four

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stairs; but a New Yorker regards a stair as a survival of barbarism, and hardly knows how to use it. The higher buildings have several sets of elevators, like the four tracks which railways lay down to work the swift and slow traffic.

"Don't go in there," my friend said, with whom I was going to lunch at a club on the top floor of a many-storied New York building. "That's an accommodation elevator; stops, you know, at every station. This is the express for the top floor."

"Would it have made much difference?" I said.

"Very nearly a minute," as if the loss of the minute would have thrown us back for the rest of the day.

No man goes slow if he has the chance of going fast, no man stops to talk if he can talk walking, no man walks if he can ride in a trolley car, no one goes in a trolley car if he can get a convenient steam car, and by and by no one will go in a steam car if he can be shot through a pneumatic tube. No one writes with his own hand if he can dictate to a stenographer, no one dictates if he can telegraph, no one telegraphs if he can telephone, and by and by when the spirit of American invention has brought wireless telegraphy into thorough condition, a man will simply sit with his mouth at one hole and his ear at another, and do business with the ends of the earth in a few seconds, which the same machine will copy and preserve in letter books and ledgers. It is the American's regret that at present he can do nothing with his feet while he is listening at the telephone, but, doubtless, some employment will be found for them in the coming age.

If a slow-witted and slow-moving Englishman desires a liberal education, let him take a journey of a month on the steam cars in the United States. No train in Europe travels as fast as certain American expresses, and if other trains go slower it is a matter of thankfulness, because they are less likely to kill passengers on level crossings, or in the main streets of the city along which they take their way, and cattle have more time to get off the unprotected tracks. As trains have also a trick of jumping the rails, either through the rails spreading or the eccentricity of the engine, both being instances of exuberant national vitality, it is just as well that every express does not go at the rate of the Empire State Express on the New York Central. Nowhere in Europe can a traveller find stronger or handsomer cars, and they are marvels of adaptability and convenience. There is a dining car, in order

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that you may not lose time at a station, and also, which is not unimportant, in order that you may be able to occupy your time with something practical on the train. Of course, there is a smoking compartment, where men can compare notes upon politics and business, and be able to escape from idleness and themselves. The best expresses have a reading car, where the American can pick up such morsels of information from the magazines as he can contain between the interstices of business. There is a desk where he can read his letters, and a typewriter to answer them, for this train is the American's sleeping-place and dining-place, and his home and his office. One thing only he regrets; the train, as it flies along, is not connected with the telegraph and the telephone, so that, as an idea occurs to him or he obtains a hint from a man in the smoking car, he might be able to do business with his correspondents in Chicago or San Francisco. While an Englishman on a railway journey is generally dressed in rough and loosely fitting tweeds, suggestive of a country life and of sport, the coat of his American cousin is of dark material and has not a superfluous inch of cloth. From his collar to his neat little boot the American is prim, spick-and-span, and looks as if he had come out of a band-box and were ready to appear in the principal room of any office. He is dressed in fact for business, and looks like business from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet, while an Englishman's appearance suggests that he is going to see a cricket match or that he has retired to live upon a farm.

My countryman arrives at the station with two and a half minutes to spare, and laden with small baggage. A porter carries his rug and an ulster, very likely also a hat-box and a bag with books, papers, and such like in it, to say nothing of an umbrella and a mackintosh, and he secures his seat at the last moment. He fastens his hat above his head, puts on a travelling cap, changes into an ulster, if it be winter time, and throws a rug over his knee; he puts on travelling gloves, and gets out the *Times*, and he will sit without budging and read his *Times* without intermission for fifty minutes. Besides these trifles with him in the carriage, he has a portmanteau in the van, which he hopes has been addressed, and which the porter promised to see put in, and he will scramble for it at his terminus along with a hundred other passengers, who are all trying to identify and extricate their luggage from a huge heap on the platform.

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The American reaches the depot by a trolley car fifteen minutes at least before the hour of departure, having sent his heavy luggage, if he has any—which is not likely—by baggage express. His only personal equipment is a slim and compact valise, which, in regard to opening and shutting, is a marvel of convenience. This he carries in his hand, and places beneath or beside the seat which he has secured two days before. He does not carry a rug because the cars are heated, nor an umbrella because it is not the rainy season. His top coat he hangs up beside his seat, as if he were in his own house; and his hat if he so please. He does not wear a travelling cap any more than in his own drawing-room, nor gloves in the train any more than in his own office. Should his hands be soiled, he goes to the lavatory where there are large basins and an ample supply of water, and if his coat be dusty, there is a negro porter in every car to brush it. The immense repose of the English traveller is quite impossible for this mercurial man, whose blood and whose brain are ever on a stir. Very rarely will you see him reading a book, because he is not accustomed to read, and the demands of a book would lessen his time for business meditation. Boys with newspapers circulate through the cars, and he buys each new paper as it appears at the different towns. Whether it be Republican, or Democratic, or a family paper or a yellow journal, does not matter to him; he glances at the startling headings, takes an accident or a political scandal at a mouthful, skims over the business news, sees whether anything has happened at the Philippines, notes that the canard of the morning has been contradicted in the afternoon, and flings paper after paper on the floor. Three minutes or, in cases of extreme interest, five minutes suffice for each paper, and by and by this omnivorous reader, who consumes a paper even more quickly than his food, is knee deep in printed information or sensation. For two minutes, he is almost quiet, and seems to be digesting some piece of commercial information. He then rises hurriedly, as if he had been called on the telephone, and makes for the smoking car, where he will discuss "Expansion" with vivid, picturesque speech, and get through a cigar with incredible celerity. Within fifteen minutes he is in the sleeper again; and, a little afterwards, wearying of idleness, he is chewing the end of a cigar, which is a substitute for smoking and saves him from being wearied with his own company. Half an hour before the train is due at his station, he is being

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brushed, and getting ready to alight. Before the train has reached the outskirts of the town, he has secured his place in a procession which stands in single file in the narrow exit passage from the sleeper. Each man is ready dressed for business and has his valise in his hand; he is counting the minutes before he can alight, and is envying the man at the head of the procession, who will have a start of about two seconds. This will give him a great advantage in business, and he may never be overtaken by his competitors till evening.

Suppose he lands at 6 a. m., he will find breakfast ready in a hotel, and half a dozen men eating as if their lives depended upon finishing by 6.15 a. m. Before seven he will have disposed of a pile of letters, dictating answers to a typist attached to the hotel, he will have telegraphed in all directions, and made half a dozen appointments in the town by telephone. Within the forenoon he will finish his business and depart for some neighboring town, lunching on the cars. The second town he will dispose of in the afternoon, and that evening go on board the sleeper to travel 400 miles to a third town, where he is going to negotiate a contract at 8 o'clock next morning. If you sympathize with him, and wonder how flesh and blood can stand the speed, he accepts your sympathy as a compliment, and assures you that he never sleeps so well as on the cars. He never seems to be out of sorts or out of temper: he is always thoroughly alive and quite good-natured. Sometimes he may seem for a moment annoyed, when he cannot telegraph as often as he wants along the line, or when the train is not on time, that he may make a connection. Nothing would wound him so deeply as to "get left," and he can only affect to be unconscious when someone declares that he is "no slouch, and that there are no flies on him." If he is obliged to spend two hours doing nothing in a hotel, when business is over, then he rocks himself and smokes, and it is a wonderful spectacle for an indolent Englishman to look down from the gallery that commands the hall of the hotel, and to see fifty able-bodied fellow men who have worked already twelve hours, at least, and put eighteen hours' work into the time, all in motion. (One wonders why this motion is not utilized to drive something.) He discovers how unlike cousins may be, for he never moves unless he is obliged to or unless he wants to shoot something, and these remarkable men never rest unless when they are asleep. About that even, I

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am not sure, and I was often tempted to draw aside the curtain from a berth in a sleeping car, and, had I done so, I should not have been at all surprised to find our friend wide awake with a cold cigar in his cheek, and rocking his knees for want of more extensive accommodation. He has always rebelled against the ancient custom of sleep, which he regards as a loss of time and an anachronism. All that he can do is to spend the night in a sleeping car, which, as he will tell you, annihilates time and space.

Foreigners travelling in the States in their innocence are amazed that a delicate-minded nation, like the Americans, should be willing to sleep after the fashion of the Pullman cars, and should not insist upon the Continental cabin-car. The reason for the Arcadian simplicity of the sections is not really economy, for no American would ever think twice of spending a dollar; it is simply their abounding and dominant energy. If you sleep in cabins at night, you must sit in cabins by day; and this would mean a seclusion and repose which are very distasteful to the high-strung American temperament. It would be like bottling up a volatile gas; and one might almost think it might lead to an explosion, which some day would break down the partitions and break up the car from end to end. The American must see everything in his car and hear everything, for which he depends upon the peculiar quality of the local voice; and he must be at liberty to prowl about his car, and to sit with his friends here and there. The car is his little world for the time, and he is not going to live in a backwater.

There seems no doubt that an American workman will do from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent. more than an Englishman in the same time, and that the higher wages of the American have their compensation for the capitalist in a workman's quickness of mind and sleight of hand. Everything goes at an accelerated speed, with wonderful inventions in labor saving machinery and devices to economize time. If the great end of a nation be to do as much as possible in as short a time as possible, then the American climate has been practically arranged for that end. An Englishwoman living in the States becomes effervescent, and the native American is the brightest woman on the face of the earth. While the English atmosphere is heavy and soothing, and lends itself to thought and quietness, the American climate is exciting

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and exhilarating, and quickens both mind and body to the highest activity. It is an electric climate, and the electricity has passed into the people, who are simply vessels charged up to a certain number of volts. These vessels as sources of motive power can then be attached to pulpits, or offices, or workshops or politics. Of course, a day will come when the vessels will have been completely discharged, and that day arrives very frequently without warning. A little confusion in the head, and a slight numbness in the limbs, and the man has to go away a year to Colorado Springs or to Los Angeles. If he is fortunate, he can be recharged and run for another five or ten years; then nature does not give any warning, but simply stops the heart or darkens the brain, and you must get another man.

No one, unless he leaves the country or becomes a crank, can escape from this despotism of activity; he is part of the regiment and must march with his fellows. The idea of making a competency and then retiring, say, into the country, never crosses a man's mind. When you urge economy upon a man for this end, you have injured your case, and are pleading on the other side. With such a prospect before him, he is more than ever resolved to be a spendthrift. To seclude an active American in an old-fashioned country house, with ivy climbing round its Tudor windows, even although there should be a library of black oak inside and a rose garden outside, would be cruelty; it would be to imprison a squirrel in a golden cage. What greatly impresses the traveller in the United States is that the rich men work as hard and as long as the poor, and that they cannot even give attention to the affairs of their country, but are willing to leave them to the very doubtful management of the "Boss," because it would not pay them to leave their business and go into politics. If the end of life be riches, then clever American is a successful man, for in no country does a respectable man become so very rich, or rich so soon, and if not respectable he still may do fairly well. You cannot have everything, however, and one notes that the average rich man has paid a price for his dollars. He has read very little —his wife reads for him; he has travelled very little—his daughters travel for him. He has no voice in the State—professional politicians speak for him; he has no amusements, unless you include speculation; and he has no pleasant periods of rest, unless you accept as an equivalent comparatively early and sudden death,

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which often arises from acute indigestion. He has not time to stop and realize himself, unless, but this is a large exception, when he has dyspepsia. One reason, perhaps, why Americans do not rest is that given to me by a bright woman: "We are all so tired," and the American is the victim of his own qualities.

One, of course, acknowledges the advantages of this amazing energy, and there are times when a stolid Englishman grows envious. A university in America is created in ten years and endowed to the extent of millions sterling, and equipped with chairs of which a European never dreamt, and laboratories which border upon palaces. Libraries and picture galleries are rising in every city, for which the treasuries of Europe have been ransacked; and, were it not for the restriction of governments, the Old Masters would have to be sought, not in Italy and England, but in New York and Chicago. New towns are designed upon a scale of magnificence, as if each were to be the capital of an empire, and are at least outlined in building within a few years. Should it be necessary, an army can be created within a few months, and in a couple of years a new trade can be established which will kill its European rivals. An English farmer with fifteen hundred acres is a considerable man, but an American can have fifteen thousand acres and his different farm buildings will be connected by telephone. A self-made man in England marries his daughter to a baronet and is much lifted; but the daughter of a self-made man in America will marry an English duke, and consider she has conferred a benefit. When you go to a Western town, you may be taken to see a university; if not, you are taken to a dry-goods store; each, in its own way, is the largest of its kind. Certainly, there are stores in America which have no rival in the Old World, and which you are expected to visit with the same appreciation as the Duomo of Florence.

There is almost nothing that the United States does not possess, except political purity, and nothing which an American cannot do, except rest; and in the conflict with foreign competition, he has almost discounted victory. Whether he be able, that is, patient and thorough in the discovery of principles, may be a question; that he is clever, by which one means bright and ingenious in turning principles to account, is beyond all question. If America has not yet had time to produce a Lord Kelvin, it has given us telephones; and if Professor Dewar has astonished the

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world with his liquid air, an American trust is, it is said, being formed to handle it for commercial purposes. If we are thought to be dull and slow, as we travel among the most stimulating and hospitable people on the face of the earth, let some excuse be made for us and let our hosts share the blame. An Englishman in the United States is half dazed, like one moving amid the ceaseless din and whirling wheels of a huge manufactory, where the voice has to be raised to a shriek, and a sentence compressed into a single word. He goes home greatly humbled in his estimation of himself, and in low spirits about the commercial future of his country. He has no bitterness, however, within his heart, for are not these people of his own blood, and are not their triumphs his, even if they threaten to outrun his own nation in the race of productive commerce? And when he comes back to England, has he not his compensations, Stratford-on-Avon, and Westminster Abbey, and the greenery of the Home Counties, and the lights and shadows of the Scots Lochs, and the musical voices of the English women, and the quiet, contented, cultured English homes?

IAN MACLAREN.

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THE FRENCH PRESS AND THE DREYFUS CASE.*

BY M. DE BLOWITZ, PARIS CORRESPONDENT OF THE LONDON "*TIMES.*"

THIS is not the first time I have attempted to define, for foreign readers, the social and political action of the French press. But the attempt can be renewed; for this press, wavering and complex as it is, is constantly changing its form and spirit, and, with each fresh episode of the national life, offers the observer a new field for study and investigation. The Empire was able to exist only because it muzzled the press. The Government saddled it with laws of commercial pledges, stamp regulations and warnings. The third restriction was mortal. Commercial pledges presupposed capital; the Stamp Act prevented the publication of journals at a cheap price, while the warnings were like the bowstring which Justinian sent to his wife that she might kill herself. At the same time, the tribune was suppressed; the Senators, provided with large annual remunerations, were simply charged with registering the Imperial decisions, which the Chamber had accepted after a semblance of discussion. This organization was the only one that enabled the Empire to live, as it is the only one that allows any autocratic and irresponsible Government to exist. We must add that Paris and France, relieved of the discussion of their own affairs, consoled themselves with amusements; and it is from this moment that female purveyors of pleasure became the pivot of public opinion, and the whole world acquired the habit of seeing in Paris simply a great public house open. Universal corruption was in the midst of this intellectual apathy, and in their hubbub of debauch the war with Italy broke out. Then came the expedition against Mexico, and, finally, the terrible awakening of the war of 1870.

*It is due to M. de Blowitz to state that this article was printed from cabled copy instead of from manuscript.—ED. N. A. R.

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But we must not forget that even during the Empire, tired of a *régime* that disgraced her, France had, through the medium of some of her writers, sought to evade the laws. She had forced those who wielded the laws to mitigate their application, and, with clever audacity that amounted almost to genius, she had criticised and attacked the Government. By slipping through the meshes of the law, under the pressure aroused by these men of great talent and firm courage, the absolute Empire gave way to the liberal Empire. This was the finest moment of French journalism. The talent of Thiers, Jules Simon and Prévost-Paradol shone with brilliant splendor on this new horizon, and forced absolutism to recede before their liberal influence. These journalists succeeded in sending five opposition deputies to Parliament; and, as it was more difficult to govern with liberty than without it, the Emperor, who had allowed the opportunity of 1866 to escape without strengthening his power by the seizure of the Rhenish frontier, found himself, in spite of all warnings and supplications, drawn into the war of 1870 to retard the success of the liberal ideas, against which he no longer dared to govern and with which he could not govern.

The fall of the Empire rapidly changed the manners and the spirit of the press. Newspapers remained for some time under certain restrictions; but, except in very rare cases, the magistrates no longer applied the press laws, until the moment arrived when, under the pressure of the journals and to win their support and suffrages, deputies voted the law of 1885—a law which was the death-blow to tranquillity and bound, sooner or later, to be fatal even to the very existence of any country, for it was tantamount to the veritable organization of printed license, and surrendered, as it were, bound hand and foot, the honor of all citizens to the base caprice of any one inclined to be insulting. In the country which is pre-eminently in the enjoyment of liberty of the press—in England—the jury remedies the danger of such license by heavy fines and strong penalties for libel upon the honor and consideration of citizens. In France there is nothing of this kind. For the last twenty-five years, one single journal has been punished by a fine of four hundred pounds. It was the journal that had accused M. Challemel Lacour, who died while President of the Senate, of having cheated at cards. Gambetta, who was then all powerful, pleaded for his friend and obtained

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this condemnation, which has remained celebrated. But, in general, malicious journalism can hold you up, I repeat, as a spectacle, bound hand and foot, to the scorn of mankind. Men, women, children, even one's ancestors, are all placed with absolute impunity in its hands, and there is no sufficient redress. M. Henri Rochefort repeated a hundred times that M. Constans, to-day French Ambassador at Constantinople, had been bought up, that he had sold the monopoly of game, that he had had an enemy drowned, and that he had poisoned a little girl. During the whole period of the Dreyfus affair, M. Rochefort announced that the Court of Cassation, paid by a syndicate, was obeying the orders of William II. and betraying France to him in betraying the French army. At the same time, he proposed that every member of the Criminal Chamber should have his eyes covered with walnut-shells containing ravenous spiders, and that, when their eyes had been put out, the hollows should be filled with glutinous substance and the magistrates exposed to the sun. I believe it was this, or something still more inhuman, that he proposed. Other journals clamored for the death of Joseph Reinach; others, still, maintained that the attempt to murder Labori was a joke arranged by the partisans of Dreyfus, and that the revolver, the ball of which had penetrated the flesh to a depth of five centimetres, was charged with bread-crumbs; others—but why prolong these citations, which prove, since she has resisted them all, that France, notwithstanding all her errors, all the crimes committed in her name, all the indignation which from time to time bursts forth around her, is under God's protection, and that the frightful gulf that her disappearance would create will never yawn open under the foundations of the universe.

But what is certain is that the press now has absolute impunity, and that nothing can henceforth deprive it of this impunity. Whoever endeavors to escape from it, in the tempest it raises, is sure to perish, body and soul. It is before the assizes that a person defamed is obliged to cite the journal that attacks him. Nearly always, those who have no profession obliging them to undertake the struggle hesitate at the idea of appearing at the assizes. Several days before the trial begins, the journal that is prosecuted publishes the list of jurymen; and, when its adversary, already terrified by the solemn surroundings, appears in court, it

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terrifies the jury that is to pronounce the verdict. It is very rare for a private person to undertake such a combat, still more rare to see a judge who dares brave a journal to protect a citizen, so that the latter, condemned by the acquittal of the journal, leaves the court room slandered and insulted, first of all, by the journalist, and, secondly, dishonored by the verdict of the jury. During the Zola trial, the unfortunate jury had to deliberate amidst the shock of overheated passions, and under the menaces of papers which accused it of betraying the Fatherland. It yielded and pronounced the maximum penalty, while, a few months later, it was proved that Zola had been merely a seer and almost a prophet. So I say, and I repeat, that there is no country in the world which, suddenly exposed to such an unbridled license of speech and expression, so brusquely confronted with such complete anarchy of utterance, both at the tribune and in the press, would not have succumbed after the fifteen years which France has just traversed in these conditions; and none which would not have seen its national honor clouded thereby. Yet—and this I am bound to say to the honor of a portion of the French press—there are still journals which have managed to maintain their dignity, their self-respect and the respect of others, although this, to be sure, is almost a miracle.

Yet, the entire press, it must be admitted, is often unjust towards, and even mistrustful of, the foreigner. This is due, however, to an immense misunderstanding between France and the rest of Europe—a misunderstanding which has existed now for thirty years. After the fatal Franco-German war, France was irritated by, and indignant because of, what it called the abandonment of Europe. She had beheld the whole of Europe taking part in her pleasures, living her life, sharing her joys, and acclaiming her pacific victories. She was aware that a trap had been laid for her to drive her into hostilities, and that her Government, to escape the growing success of the opposition, had willingly fallen into the trap. She remained convinced that Europe had known of these manœuvres, and that, in presence of the preliminary results of the war, Europe had understood that the war had been desired and provoked by Germany, and that France was playing therein the rôle both of dupe and of victim. She expected to see Europe rise up in her defence and stop the relentless advance of the invader. When, therefore, she had been

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worsted without a finger having been raised on her behalf, she conceived a profound irritation, and, as always happens, tried to console herself for her misfortunes and for this abandonment by scorn inspired in her by the attitude of the foreigner—scorn which burst forth bitterly now in unmistakable and growing expressions of her wrath.

It is perfectly true that she had been abandoned; but the reasons were numerous, and many persons, both in France and abroad, failed to seize their real nature. In the first place, it was not France which Europe had abandoned, but the Empire. The Empire, by a policy the mediocrity of which was hidden behind the dazzling curtain of its magnificent exterior, had irritated almost the whole of Europe, which had scarcely been able to tolerate its haughty and overbearing manner. It had exasperated Austria in making war for Italy, but the precipitate peace of Villefranche imposed upon Italy and leaving Venice in the hands of Austria and Rome in those of the Papacy, had displeased Italy almost as much as Magenta and Solferino had displeased Austria, and Italy found Nice, Savoy and one hundred millions of francs a large price to pay an ally who consulted merely herself as to the question of putting an end to the war. The case was the same as to the Crimea, where Russia, irritated against France, beheld England disappointed, owing to the end of the war and the treaty of peace. Prussia was too well aware what France coveted and Belgium could have no illusions as to the fate in store for her, so that the shadow of the Empire loomed over them both. Holland itself, troubled by the prospect of possessing France as a menacing near neighbor, cherished, as it were, a feeling of security when it knew that that danger had been conjured away. Thus Europe, as a whole—which, moreover, was at the outset convinced that France would ultimately be victorious, and which was frightened at the prospect of her absolute domination—assumed, at first, an anxious attitude of reserve. Furthermore, after the very first victory, Prince Bismarck took care to convince Europe that he was negotiating with the Empire; and, by cultivating a belief in its restoration, prevented Europe from thinking itself rid of the Empire and from manifesting any effective sympathy for France in distinction from the Empire. But this distinction was one France herself could not comprehend. She believed herself abandoned, almost betrayed; and, from this time

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forward, a real antipathy against everything foreign—a feeling of disdain almost amounting to scorn—grew up and became strikingly and painfully conspicuous. The press opened its columns to the first comer, and any one who took up the pen therein was sure of success if he adopted as his theme distrust of the foreigner, or exposed the foreigner to the animosity of his readers.

But Russia, it should be said, no longer having the Empire to block the way, understood thoroughly how matters stood; and, as early as 1875, Prince Gortchakoff and the Czar, pre-occupied by the grandeur of Germany, and not by any means reassured by the *Dreikaiserbund*, laid the foundations of that Franco-Russian alliance which was intended to afford them the security they desired, but which was definitely carried through only after a prolonged effort of fifteen years. Unfortunately, from this moment, the French press, liberated at last from all necessity of taking any precaution, was easily led, in its long resentment for the abandonment of 1870, into displaying towards Europe, Russia alone excepted, a haughtiness which, in turn, irritated the other Powers. Thus it was that, finally, the fatal Dreyfus affair became possible, in which the whole world found frightful opportunity to join in a sort of violent, moral coalition against the violation of human justice of which France was the theatre.

Such was the exact situation when, two years ago, France was startled by the denunciation of Matthieu Dreyfus, following the splendidly courageous initiative of Scheurer-Kestner. The thunderbolt hurled by Zola made of the Dreyfus case a political affair; and immediately the cry of *Vive l'Armée* having given anti-Republican and anti-Liberal opposition a formidable watchword, France fell asunder into two camps—one, attached to the republican form of government and to the ideas of justice and truth, supporting the efforts of those who demanded the reparation of a monstrous injustice; the other indifferent to injustice, and seeing in the defence of the armed judges who had condemned an innocent man merely a means of obtaining the support of the army, in order to secure the upper hand in the State. Naturally, this struggle between the two parties became tangible in the press, and immediately a current was established there in which the idea of justice and reparation played a secondary rôle, and in which, little by little, each paper, in order to justify its attitude, had no difficulty in marshalling arguments consonant with its interests.

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I must note immediately that, whatever the original motive, the papers which defended Dreyfus were and were bound to be the most respectable, and they stand forth to-day before humanity as a whole as the defenders, in all conscience and truth, of what was just; and naturally, too, as the whole world feels and proclaims, those which fought against Dreyfus were, necessarily, organs less worthy of confidence, since, defending an iniquitous condemnation as they did, they were unable to justify their attitude, save by silencing their consciences and by putting at the service of the crime which they defended arguments which universal reason and universal conscience had rejected.

After what precedes, I have now merely to draw up in battle array the various forces which this contest, known as the Dreyfus affair, has brought face to face.

By a coincidence, which would appear odd without the explanations which I have given, the attitude of the newspapers in this affair corresponds, almost mathematically, to their habitual attitude; and it will thereby appear evident that it was not concern for justice and truth which actuated them, but concern for their own interests, which had nothing in common with persecuted innocence or the revelation of truth. The majority of the papers which accuse Dreyfus are Clerical, Royalist, Bonapartist, Nationalist, anti-Semite, or merely topsy-turvyist. The papers which defend him, on the contrary, from the Socialist journals to the conservative republican papers, are organs of liberal opinion. I, of course, do not undertake to enumerate or analyze the hundreds of papers which sprang up here so suddenly, in the interests of one or the other party, and disappeared as rapidly as they had come to maturity. I leave out of account, too, the more or less official organs of Parisian *galanterie*, which serve as a vehicle for a vice rich enough to offer itself the luxury of more or less regular advertisement, in which foreigners count on finding authentic information concerning matters which have nothing to do with science or politics, and which, nevertheless, in order to provide a complete bazaar stock, admit to their columns, now and then, arid articles that have fallen from some serious pen which is provisionally on the retired list. I shall merely refer to those papers whose opinion, in times of peace, interests the public and is even more or less capable of modifying their readers' views. It is these, and these only, whose general tendencies and special

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tendencies, as manifested in recent events, I shall try to analyze in justification of the verdict which I have just passed upon them.

The *Figaro*, the *Siècle*, the *Aurore*, the *Radical*, the *Rappel*, the *Fronde*, the *Petit Bleu*, and the *Petite République*, have been resolutely on the side of revision and believers in the innocence of Dreyfus. The *Temps*, the *Débats*, the *Matin* and the *Petit Parisien* have defended his cause fitfully. The *Petit Journal*, the *Écho de Paris*, the *Croix*, the *Univers*, the *Gazette de France*, the *Moniteur Universel*, the *Éclair*, the *République Française*, the *Libre Parole*, the *Intransigeant*, the *Gaulois* and the *Patrie*, have been resolutely and absolutely against Dreyfus. The *Autorité*, the *Soleil* and the *Liberté* have mitigated by certain fits of justice (the *Soleil*, however, to its honor, early came out valiantly in favor of revision) their hostility to the cause of Dreyfus. I will not dwell on the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the clerical tendencies of which, and in general the disconcerting oddity of the management of which, place it in a situation for which I despair of finding a name. Nor need I insist upon the attitude of the *Revue de Paris*, which has been that of a man prudently picking his way across quicksands; nor upon that of the *Grande Revue*, edited by Labori, which carefully avoided confounding its own cause with that of the noble defence offered by its editor to the higher interests of law.

As will be seen, the opposed forces, if reckoned merely numerically, are far from equal. Eight newspapers are for Dreyfus and twelve against him. Those of the former class which are intermittent in their devotion to the cause, are four in number; those of the second class, also spasmodic, are three in number. And to sum up, out of twenty-seven papers engaged in the battle, there are, speaking generally, twelve for Dreyfus and fifteen against him.

But the really curious side of the inquiry upon which I am engaged, is the question of the intrinsic force of what Major Carrière calls the "unities of the combat." The *Siècle*, the *Aurore*, the *Radical*, the *Rappel*, the *Fronde*, the *Petit Bleu*, the *Petite République*, the *Temps*, the *Debats*, the *Matin*, the *Petit Parisien* advance over an extent of territory reaching from the left wing of socialism to the republican Left Centre under the flag of the Republic. The *Figaro*, conservative in its tendencies, is on the high road, as a consequence of its recent evolutions, to becoming

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a Liberal organ; and, as is bound to happen when one is already on the march, it will most likely now accelerate this tendency in proportion as, with the perspicacious instinct which characterizes it, it comes to understand that, in spite of the most desperate efforts, the hour for the revival of the reactionary *régime* is not likely to strike just yet. In the opposite camp classification becomes more difficult and complex. The *Petit Journal*, the *Éclair* and the *République Française* are republican; the *Gazette de France*, the *Soleil*, the *Gaulois*, the *Moniteur Universel* are Royalist; the *Univers* and the *Croix* are Clerical; the *Autorité* and the *Liberté* are Bonapartist; the *Écho de Paris*, the *Libre Parole*, the *Intransigeant* and the *Patrie* are Nationalist and anti-Semite. Thus, out of twelve papers, partisans of Dreyfus, eleven are Republican with various shades; the *Figaro* is a Liberal organ which is separated by a pure fiction from the Republic, as the Republic can be accepted as, in a word I have often defined it, the Republic which reassures, in contradistinction with the other forms of government, which, owing to the present violent thirst for revenge of their partisans, are far from being reassuring.

The representatives, accordingly, of the two opposing parties may be divided up as follows: Eleven Republican papers and one Liberal paper are for Dreyfus; and against him there are three Republican papers, four Royalist papers, two Clerical papers, three Bonapartist papers and three Nationalist and anti-Semitic organs. So that leaving out the *Éclair*, the *République Française*, the *Petit Journal*, which is likewise of doubtful republicanism, twelve papers out of fifteen, among those hostile to Dreyfus, are also hostile to the Republic, and we have thus, instantly, a clue to the predominant motives behind the Dreyfusist and anti-Dreyfusist contest. Rightly or wrongly, the enemies of the cause of Dreyfus attached to its defeat the idea of a rebuff for the Republic and of a triumph of reaction over the liberal spirit; and it is extraordinary —incomprehensible even—to find among papers which did their utmost to combat the ideas of justice demanded by the partisans of Dreyfus three Republican organs, since it is incontestable that the campaign directed against Dreyfus was directed against the Republic.

As to the *Petit Journal*, there is no reason to feel any assurance that this organ is Republican. It is a paper which began thirty or forty years ago as a popular non-political sheet; and,

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consequently, not being obliged to pay the stamp tax, it could be sold for a half-penny. This gave it a rapid and far-reaching vogue, which it put at the service of the Empire, but which it also put, unfortunately, at the service of the war which brought about the fall of the Empire. When liberty of the press was obtained, the *Petit Journal* became political; but its popularity had already been secured, and it lost nothing of its influence. In the remoter departments it has done immense injury to the cause of Dreyfus, but its attitude was largely determined by its ardent antagonism towards Clemenceau, against whom it had waged a bitter war by methods which all self-respecting journals disapproved. But these are methods which it likes, and, once again, this paper, in going to the length of making of the dead body of a father a weapon of battle against the son, has distinguished itself for having lost, in the ardor of the struggle, the sense of everything which makes the grandeur and honor of contemporary journalism.

The *Éclair* under the management of Alphonse Humbert, an ex-Deputy of the Commune, had passed for being rather extravagant in its republicanism. Its surprising attitude in the Dreyfus affair must have been determined, in the first place, by the fact of the confidences of which it was the object on the part of the General Staff, and, secondly, by the desire to extend its circulation. Moreover, it thus entered into direct rivalry with the *Matin*, which, at the outset, had assumed an attitude rather favorable to the cause of Dreyfus. The *Éclair* then, as was but natural, became heated in the fight, and continued to put forward arguments which it thought incisive in favor of its patrons—a course which in reality was bad, for it did not justify, far from it, the defence which the *Éclair* pretended to offer for the General Staff.

The *République Française* is M. Meline's organ; that is to say, the journal of the ex-Prime-Minister who declared while in office that there was no Dreyfus affair, and that it was necessary to acquiesce in *chose jugée*. The M. Meline fallen from power defends to-day the whilom Meline in office, as formerly he defended General Mercier accused of having violated the law. He remains republican, for I do not believe he could possibly be anything else; but the Dreyfus affair has become for him an instrument ever since the Ministry, in company with the whole world, has seemed ready to acquiesce in the patent facts of the case and to admit that Dreyfus could not be declared guilty.

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Such are the causes of this singular fact of the presence of three Republican papers in the ranks of the party opposed to Dreyfus and to the Republic. All the others which I have mentioned and almost all those I have passed over in silence, and which are opposed to Dreyfus, are, as I have said, papers hostile also to the Republic, and this fact, of itself, throws sufficient light for foreigners on this aspect of the question.

Before analyzing the rôle of the journals which have remained alone in the forefront of the battle, it is worth while to point out that, in certain cases, writers of conspicuous worth, drawn to the struggle quite apart from the action of their journals, themselves having noble convictions, have given to it a sort of epic grandeur, which has brought it to the attention of the civilized world.

The *Aurore* had been founded only just before the beginning of the campaign. It was established as a counterpart of the *Intransigeant*, and had the good fortune to arrive just at the right moment to take up the defence of Dreyfus—that is to say, to fight a good fight for truth. *La Justice*, Clemenceau's organ, had just disappeared, or was about to disappear. M. Clemenceau, happily for himself removed for the moment from polemical controversy, has rapidly attained the reputation of being a remarkable writer, who placed at the service of lofty character and ripe reason a pen destined in the ardor of battle soon to become that of a master. He entered the lists as leader-writer on the *Aurore*, and there displayed in the service of the Dreyfus cause a wealth of eloquence and knowledge which immediately attracted the attention of the thinking public, and gained vogue even among the general readers who followed his articles regularly. Unfortunately, the presence in the same journal of another remarkable writer, who professed, however, violent hatred against everything military, played into the hands of unscrupulous enemies, who attributed to Clemenceau himself the candid aggressions of Urbain Gohier, allowing the productions of the one to be the butt of attacks meant for the other, who seemed to be aiming at the armed forces of France.

In the *Siècle*, which had already for some time been nearly forgotten by the public, Yves Guyot and Joseph Reinach defended ardently, a cause destined to become that of humanity itself; but the *Siècle* was a long time in recovering its old prosperity, and the prose of these two distinguished writers appealed for the most part merely to a chosen set of readers already convinced.

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François de Pressensé, the exceedingly well-informed and indispensable editor of the foreign department of the *Temps*, was thereupon, little by little, carried away by the ardor of his growing convictions, and, with visor up, abandoning anonymity, he rushed into the fray, not counting his blows, and confronting unhesitatingly all those who challenged him. It was a little later in the day that he ventured into the columns of the *Aurore*, held back hitherto by a natural scruple of not compromising the measured tone of the *Temps* in the violent engagements where he always figured in the front rank of the battle. The *Temps*, in fact, incontestably favorable to the cause of Dreyfus, defended it, however, with a certain procrastination, assuming more often than otherwise the rôle of a mere spectator of the battle, rather than that of a combatant. Yet, at those moments when there was really a doubt, its serious, weighty and reflecting utterances usually placed sincere persons who were not too much swayed by their passions in that frame of mind which it wished to induce.

The *Matin*, essentially a newspaper, and even sensational at that, while wishing to be the counterpart of the *Éclair*, endeavored not to take sides too affirmatively, and readily enough flung out ballast to lighten the balloon, when it seemed to it likely to catch on this or that obstacle in its path; and, on the morrow of the day when it had been prominently on the side of Dreyfus, published defiant articles by General Lambert changing utterly its tone, and its attitude indicated indifference rather than the impartiality at which it was aiming. As for the *Libre Parole*, it was so manifestly pursuing its well-known sectarian end of causing hatred, that it added little to convictions one way or other. The *Intransigeant* plunged along the fatal route which it has marked out for itself, insulting every one on its way, fulfilling the only rôle of which it is capable, for, when Henri Rochefort ceases to insult, he will cease to be read.

I would willingly have finished this article without speaking of the *Journal des Débats*, if my silence would not have appeared affectation. The *Débats*, like the *République Française*, is a newspaper the political policy of which is guided by personal preoccupations, that hinder the freedom of its movements by putting prudent obstacles in its way. In the Dreyfus affair, as in many others, the indispensable prudence of the *Débats* prevented it from taking a resolute stand and enlightening public opinion by

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giving it information and appreciation which it imperiously and almost anxiously demanded. This attitude of the *Débats* has not surprised any one who has followed its evolutions. The *Débats* struggles, first of all and *pro domo*, against the progress of Radicalism, which it all the more readily confounds with Socialism, as this is a clever means of casting absolute suspicion over the entire movement. The *Débats* thus saw in the Dreyfus affair the harm that would result to the policy of the Left Centre, or Progressists, by the intervention of Radicalism, which was devoting itself to the defence of Dreyfus. The cause would fatally become attached to a very considerable portion of the Republican party. Hence the reserve and fluctuations of the *Débats*, which are difficult to explain in an affair that has excited passions to such an extraordinary extent. Moreover, by the phenomenon I have explained, the general political policy of the *Débats* is the same as that followed in the Dreyfus affair. I long ago said that the *Débats* is one of the rare French newspapers that have avoided coarse language and personalities in its discussions, and that, without ceasing to be caustic, it is among those with which it is still possible to discuss fairly. I have the very great and sincere regret to declare that I cannot honestly repeat these words. At the present time, like Charlemagne, the brilliant pleiad that formerly gave the *Débats* the glory upon which it still lives, has left no heirs, and, as in the gutter press, personalities and sometimes denunciation are now not infrequently to be seen. This is why the *Débats* has remained without action or influence, one way or other, on the public mind in the protracted struggle that has recently agitated France.

In reality, the two journals that have conducted this long and terrible battle, are *Figaro* and the *Écho de Paris*, and yet *Figaro*, for some time and for unexpected reasons, and owing to strange circumstances, interrupted the struggle and took refuge in a sort of abstention that astonished and troubled the partisans of truth and justice. *Figaro*, which has become a serious and reflecting journal, no longer resembles, in any way, the *Figaro* of early days, and it may now be left upon drawing-room tables. But *Figaro* continues to be a newspaper, to have the latest news before any competitors, and to present its information effectively. *Figaro*, therefore, accepted the first reports upon the projected and partially realized enterprise of the revision of the Dreyfus case. It

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soon went further, and, after the denunciation of Esterhazy by Matthieu Dreyfus, published the scandalous letters written by that officer to Madame de Boulancy. By them the start was given, but immediately there was a falling off in the subscriptions and daily sales. The *Gaulois* cleverly seized the opportunity, pitted its anti-Dreyfusist policy against that of *Figaro*, accentuated its royalism, ardently defended the army, and, in a word, sought to obtain subscribers and readers that were deserting *Figaro*. The chief editor of *Figaro*, frightened by all these symptoms, published a contrite letter and announced his withdrawal from active duty for a while. This was a significant and dangerous lull in the progress of the Dreyfus cause. *Figaro* tried to save its position by engaging a military writer very popular in the army, and soon afterwards Cornely, one of the editors of the *Gaulois*, who was stifling in that journal, came to *Figaro*, where it was believed he was going to cause the three lilies to flower once more. But the curious thing is that, in the meanwhile, the *Figaro* public had changed, without becoming less numerous. M. de Rodays, the chief editor, was encouraged by these new marks of sympathy, and Cornely, in whom the fire of Dreyfusism was secretly burning, began, by admirable gradations, the campaign now known to every one, which will remain one of the most brilliant memories in the history of modern French journalism. From this moment, the *Figaro* became the leader of the Dreyfus army, and it then fell to the lot of this journal to perform the duty of disclosing to the world the infamous campaign threats against the over-scrupulous Criminal Chamber, and at the same time of denouncing to the universe, by the publication of the inquiry made by the Court of Cassation, completed by the report of M. Ballot Beaupré and the decree of the full chamber, the monstrous iniquity of the verdict of 1894. Finally, the *Figaro* performed the remarkable feat of publishing each day a complete stenographic report of the Rennes trial; and, if it has been impossible to extricate the judges of 1899 from the slavery of discipline, at least the world is now lifting up against them its powerful voice denouncing the flagrant injustice of their verdict, and proclaiming before history the innocence of their victim, Captain Dreyfus.

On the other side of the battlefield, the French journal that has led this campaign is the *Écho de Paris*. Of comparatively recent foundation, this journal remained a long while in ob-

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scurity; and, at one time, there were vague whispers—the reasons for which I ignore—that it was about to disappear. However, it suddenly obtained resources, said to be considerable, enlarged its pages, and entered upon a new career. Its military information, emanating, according to report, from high sources, had always been carefully followed by those attracted by this sort of news. When the *Écho de Paris* made its recent changes, it engaged a group of popular writers, some of whom had begun their journalistic career in the *Figaro* columns, and who drew to the *Écho de Paris* a host of readers, who until then had paid no attention to their articles. As the military readers remained faithful to the *Écho de Paris*, it was natural that this journal should be the one to take the lead in the defence of the General Staff and in violent opposition to the revision of the Dreyfus case. The chiefs of the various leagues made their communications in its columns, and, as a large number of French journals had ceased to give way before personal attacks, insults and threats, the *Écho de Paris* became the vehicle of every one who found bitter pleasure in spreading broadcast their villanous sentiments. It was in the *Écho de Paris* that so triumphantly established himself the master of the art of denunciation, that ex-magistrate who had quitted the Court of Cassation to hold up his former colleagues to public scorn. No one has escaped this fatal emulation, and, to close with an example which proves that the humblest as well as the highest have had to pay their tribute to this aggressive madness, here is what one of my friends has just said to me, as I am writing these lines: "You know, some days ago, the gentleman whom the University discharged has attacked and denounced you in the *Écho de Paris*." "Really, my dear friend," I replied, "this gentleman is lucky in having a chance to earn money in attacking and denouncing me. If I wished to do as he is doing, and had no other resource than to offer English journals a few columns of insults and menaces against him, I should run a great risk of dying of hunger."

Not from forgetfulness, but intentionally, I have not spoken of certain journals the obligatory tendencies of which, so to speak, elude discussion. The *Univers*, like all journals of its class, has had and will always have an equivocal attitude. It has not been too flagrantly inquisitorial, nor has it obeyed the orders of justice in turning its back to the vested interests, or what it

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considers as such, that it defends. The indelible royalism of the *Gazette de France* spares us, so to speak, the necessity of analyzing its articles. Being reactionary by nature, it could not and cannot take any other attitude than the one it assumed. Its old readers remain inflexibly attached to the throne and the altar, and this does not admit of an indulgence in new dreams. This journal is bright, keen, bitter and perfidious. It amuses those who read it, and I am of the number; but these qualities will not hasten, by even an hour, the return of the government it prefers. Besides, its habits of opposition are so inveterate, that it would be quite out of its element if it were obliged to approve everything, instead of criticising.

I have left, by repugnance rather than by oversight, for the end of this study, the most abnominable, not of French journals, but of all the journals published in the French language—I mean that poisoned vaseline which is called *La Croix*, and which softly slips under the skin and there deposits the virus of hypocrisy, deadly insinuations and denunciations. *La Croix* has, at the top of its first page, the image of Christ crucified; and in each number, in fact, it crucifies anew, on its very threshhold, by its abominable prose, the gentle Saviour who chased the money changers from the Temple. Each day it stirred up hatred against the unfortunate prisoner at Devil's Island, and rendered suspicious even the pity which it preached in his favor, when the revolt of all hearts had shown the horror of the new condemnation. It is an abominable journal, trying to supplant all other popular publications, and to dry up the pure blood of the French nation. It is an abominable journal, and the Catholic Church must be powerfully rooted in French hearts to resist such an ally.

H. G. DE BLOWITZ.

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